

JPRS 77645

23 March 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 173



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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PARTY AND STATE

ORIGINS OF HUA GUOFENG'S OFFICIAL CAREER REVEALED

Hong Kong CHENG-MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 39, Jan 81 pp 14-17

[Article by Ti Tzu-p'ing [3695 1311 1627]: "The Background to Hua Guofeng's Official Career"]

[Text] At the moment the position of Chairman Hua Guofeng is unsteady in the extreme and is in imminent danger. This situation is known to everybody.

Hua Guofeng was not a well-known figure before the Cultural Revolution. But not long after Mao Zedong passed away, Hua climbed rapidly to the position of chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. After 4 years at the helm of state, his position is now precarious and its future is unpredictable. People are certainly interested in Hua's past experiences which were something mysterious. This writer knows very well certain important parts of Hua's career, which are now related for information of readers who wish to guess the movements Hua may make from now on.

An Extreme Leftist Tendency in Work Style

On the morrow the Chinese Communist Party founded the republic, Hua Guofeng went to Hunan Province accompanying the south-bound working group to become secretary of Xiangyin County party committee and political commissar of the county units. He was then a cadre with battalian rank.

Xiangyin County situated in northern Hunan Province was the ancestral home of warlord Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768] of the Hunan clique in the Qing Dynasty. Xiangyin, Xiangxiang and Xiangyin were known as "three xiang." After the Qing court suppressed the uprising of the Taiping Tienguo, many natives of Xiangyin became upstarts by virtue of their military exploits. In Xiangyin County those with 1st and 2nd official ranks numbered several hundred. The county was one of the strong bases of the landlord class in the province. Class contradiction was conspicuous in Xiangyin County and when Hua Guofeng took charge of land reform he took very severe measures against landlords and rich men and indiscriminately arrested and killed many people. This was the fact known to everybody in the province. By comparison, Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] took a different course when he became secretary of a northern Sichuan District party committee on the morrow of the founding of the republic. He strongly advocated a cautious attitude even when suppressing bandits and opposing despots. More were imprisoned and a few were

executed on the spot. Taking this course, he attained the goal of stabilizing the situation. Moreover, he put an end to indiscriminate arrest and killing to a certain extent.

Hua Guofeng worked in Xiangyin 2 years and then was transferred to Xiangtan as county party committee secretary. Hua's fighting spirit was particularly strong. In the movements for carrying out land reform and suppressing bandits and opposing despots, he exhibited outstanding performance, which was appreciated by his superiors. In the summer of 1953 he was promoted to the post of secretary of the Xiangtan prefecture party committee. During the period in which he worked in Xiangtan special district (now a prefecture), particularly during the 1955-1956 agricultural cooperative movement, he upheld a comparatively radical viewpoint, an inkling of which can be found in the four investigation reports sorted out and summed up by himself. Subsequently the four reports were selected by Mao Zedong and included in the book "Socialist Upsurge in China's Rural Districts."

Hua Guofeng began to work in the Hunan provincial government in May 1956 when he was transferred there as director of the culture and education office of the provincial party committee. After that, he took charge of the united front department of the provincial party committee and of the provincial science committee.

Hua Guofeng's rapid rise began after the 1959 Lushan Conference. At the Lushan conference Mao Zedong purged Peng Dehuai who had dared to provoke his wrath by submitting a memorial to him. After the conference Mao Zedong pushed an anti-rightist movement vigorously and speedily. Zhou Xiaozhou [0719 1420 5297], 1st secretary of the Hunan provincial party committee was listed as a backbone of the Peng Dehuai anti-party clique. After this, Zhou disappeared from the political scene. It was at that time that Mao Zedong personally nominated Hu to be promoted from alternate secretary to secretary of the provincial party committee. The reason why Hua was able to emerge during the anti-rightist movement was presumably because he went along with the Maoist ultraleft line in Hunan. However, according to Hunan Red Guard publications during the Cultural Revolution, two speeches made by Hua Guofeng at provincial party committee sessions before the Lushan plenum were against the ultraleft line; later, he sized up the political atmosphere and, on the excuse of opposing rightist deviation, put down a group of dissident cadres. While Red Guards' accusations were not conclusive and reliable, judging by Hua's consistent style of work, they were not something out of nothing.

At that time, Zhang Pinghua [1728 1627 0553], 1st secretary of the Hunan provincial party committee just transferred from Hubei where he was secretary of the Hubei provincial party committee, had a certain amount of confidence in Hua Guofeng. While he was with the provincial party committee, Hua took charge of the provincial department of finance and trade, department of agriculture and forestry and department of industry and communications. He was even more proud of himself in 1964 when he was appointed as standing committee secretary of the provincial party committee to assist the 1st secretary in day-to-day work.

Calmly Waiting for Changes Amidst Storms

After the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, Tao Zhu [7118 6999] and Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850] transferred Zhang Pinghua to Beijing to be deputy director in charge of day-to-day business of the Central Committee propaganda department and

concurrently member of the Central Committee's Cultural Revolution group, and appointed Wang Yanchun [3769 1693 2504] to act for Zhang as 1st secretary of the provincial party committee. At that time, Jiang Qing and others of the "Central Committee Cultural Revolution group" instigated the rebel factions of all localities to create disturbances causing the whole country "to suffer from penetrating cold." Hunan was no exception. Despite the care given by Tao and Wang and the protection by the conservatives, the provincial party committee could not hold its own and fell into a precarious and weaning situation.

In October 1966, Tao Zhu and Wang Renzhong tried to transfer Zhang Pinghua back to Hunan Province in order to stabilize the situation there. However, back in Hunan Province Zhang was helpless and the situation became even more complicated. Judging by the way Red Guard publications attacked Hua Guofeng for carrying out the "capitalist reactionary line," it looked like that Hua was in the same boat and the same difficult straits with the provincial party committee. Unlike Liu Jianxun [0491 1696 8113] of Honan, Pan Fusheng [3382 1788 3932] of Heilongjiang and Wang Xiaoyu [3769 0509 4416] of Shandong, Hua did not play the trick of feigning compliance with orders and taking the lead in "rebellious." This shows that while he was not so quick to size up the situation Hua behaved like a man of caution.

At that time, the Shanghai "January storm" of seizing power was sweeping over the whole country. The Hunan provincial party committee was soon paralyzed and Hua Guofeng and other responsible persons of the provincial party committee stood aside after being criticized and denounced by the masses. Not long afterwards, Mao Zedong issues his "three-in-one combination" directive (unlike the subsequent "three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, this "three-in-one" means combination of revolutionary mass organizations, army cadres and revolutionary cadres). Thus, the rebel organizations that had seized power of the provincial party committee were faced with the choice: choose as the object of "three-in-one combination" veteran cadres who had "affection" for them and went along with the intentions of the Central Committee. Centered on this question, a series of open and hidden struggles took place between rebel organizations and between responsible persons of the provincial party committee.

There was not a veteran cadre in Hunan at that time who enjoyed popular confidence and there was not a rebel organization that was master of the situation in Hunan. At the same time, the rebel factions were locked in a stalemate in their acute struggle. In view of this, the Central Committee came to the conclusion that the situation in Hunan was so chaotic that no revolutionary committee could be set up there. Accordingly, Long Shujin [7893 2579 6855], commander of the provincial military area was instructed to set up a military control committee to maintain public order with armed force. Formerly, Long Shujin was commander of the 43rd army. He was a trusted follower of Lin Biao, but over the issue of supporting the leftists he ran counter to Lin's intentions. Hunan's rebel organizations were suppressed one after another by the military control committee and were ordered to disband. Among these rebel organizations, "Changsha Workers' Union" and "Xiangjiang wind and thunder" were typical. The situation suddenly changed later when the "Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group" supported the rebel factions in various localities in rising to oppose the suppression by the military control committee. As a result, Hunan's rebel factions were revived, and they went to settle scores with the military control committee. Since the provincial military control committee was under

the leadership of Long Shujin and Liu Ziyun [0491 1311 7189], deputy commander of the provincial military area, the rebel factions directed the spearhead of attack against Long and Liu.

Violent incidents took place one after another and developed with ever greater fury. From the viewpoint of the military committee, the mass organizations were divided into two major factions: One faction was against the army--"Changshan Workers' Union" and "Xiangjiang Wind and Thunder". The other faction was for the army--"Chang Bao Jun" [7022 0202 6511] and Gao Si [7559 0674]. Around the 20 July 1967 Wuhan incident, the violent incidents in Hunan topped the whole central-south region in scale and frequency. During several incidents of violence the two sides sent out tanks and anti-tank rocket throwers. In addition to other factors, the characteristics of the people of Hunan--agile, brave and bellicose--had something to do with the violent struggles in Hunan.

Zhang Baisen Accused Hua of Removing the Bridge After Crossing the River

In view of the fact that the situation in Hunan had gone out of control, the Central Committee ordered the 6900 military unit (the 47th army) in August that year to move into Hunan to support the leftists. The 47th army was the main field army, well equipped, and comprising large numbers of personnel and was naturally more than sufficient to cope with the turmoil in the province. Commander Li Yuan [7812 0626] and deputy commander Zheng Bo [6774 3134] of the army, acting on Mao Zedong and Lin Biao's instructions, took a clear-cut stand in Hunan, gave strong backing to the rebel factions, officially rehabilitated "Workers' Union" and "Xiangjiang Wind and Thunder," and put down "Chang Bao Zhun" and "Gao Si" that supported the provincial military district.

In September, the Central Committee, noting that the situation in Hunan was stabilizing, ordered establishment of a "preparatory group for the provincial revolutionary committee" with Li Yuan as head and with Hua Guofeng and former alternate secretary Zhang Baisen [4545 2672 2773] of the provincial party committee as members of the group. Before joining the group Hua Guofeng had gone through a certain process. Between Hua and Zhang, the rebel factions preferred Zhang. At the early stage of the Cultural Revolution, Zhang Baisen seized the chance to "rebel" and was on good terms with the rebel organizations. He was a figure of the Wang Xiaoyu type. Zhang was sympathetic to the "Workers' Union" and "Xiangjian Wind and Thunder", two organizations wielding power, resolutely backed Zhang Baisen while Zhang himself willingly acted as the rebels' mastermind. The "Central Committee Cultural Revolution group" also backed him. Thus, nothing could hinder Zhang from joining the preparatory group for the provincial revolutionary committee. But Hua Guofeng was in a different situation. The rebel factions had no connections with him, and no confidence in him. Although he was strongly recommended by Zhou Enlai, Hua was obliged to seek formal acceptance from the army and the rebel factions. This could not but be a hard nut for him to crack at that time.

According to what was disclosed by Zhang Baisen's secretary in private, Hua Guofeng did everything he could to establish relations with Zhang. He swore he would share weal and woe with Zhang in days to come. Hua did this because Zhang's relations with the rebel factions and the army were far stronger than his. Drawn over to Hua's side, Zhang then smoothed Hua's relations with and understanding of Zhang Zhongfu [0781 1813 1381], Hu Yong [5170 0516] and Liu Zhengliang [0491 2973 5328],

responsible persons of "Workers' Union," and Ye Weidong [5509 5898 2639], responsible person of "Xiangjiang Wind and Thunder." At the same time, Zhang Baisen put in a good word for Hua Guofeng with the responsible person of the 47th army. Zhang won deputy commander Zheng Bo's support. Zheng then accompanied Hua to call on army commander Li Yuan. Hua vowed solemnly, opened his heart to Li, declared he would resolutely stand on the side of the army and rebel factions. The secretary said that it was only after he put in this work that he succeeded in getting into the preparatory group for the provincial revolutionary committee. In this connection, Zheng Baisen did Hua favors. The secretary also said that, unexpectedly, not long afterwards, owing to conflict of interests Hua Guofeng played tricks and pushed Zhang aside during the period in which Hua Guofeng took charge of the provincial revolutionary committee. Later, Hua simply made Zhang occupy an insignificant position. This bred Zhang's dissatisfaction with Hua and led to sharp antagonism.

The above story was revealed to the writer by a friend of mine. This friend was an old intimate friend of Zhang Baisen's secretary. My friend told me the secretary was an honest man whose words were always fairly reliable. My friend, also said, the secretary felt outraged for his old boss and kept sighing over Hua's inconsistency.

Impeded by the Provincial Military Area

The Hunan provincial revolutionary committee was set up on 8 April 1968 with Li Yuan as chairman. Long Shujin under Lin Biao's protection, became the 1st vice chairman and Hua Guofeng and Zhang Baisen were vice chairmen. Hu Yong and Ye Weidong, heads of "Workers' Union" and "Xiangjiang Wind and Thunder" were also vice chairmen at that time.

Soon, Long Shujin was transferred to Xinjiang and Hua Guofeng was promoted to the post of first vice chairman. When the Chinese Communist Party held its 9th congress in April 1969, Hua Guofeng was elected member of the Central Committee while Li Yuan, chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee was merely an alternate member of the Central Committee. This indicates that Li Yuan's position in Hunan Province was not stable at that time.

In the first half of 1970, Li Yuan at the head of the 47th army moved to the Shenxi and Gansu areas. Subsequently, as deputy commander of the Lanzhou military unit Li Yuan had affairs with many women, for which he was later criticized. After Li's departure from Hunan, Hua Guofeng was actually the number one man in the province. In July that year, XINHUA, reporting news about Hunan Province, called Hua acting chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and in early December called him acting head of the leading party nucleus of the provincial revolutionary committee. At the 3rd party congress of Hunan held that month, Hua Guofeng was elected first secretary of the newly established 3rd provincial committee. It is noted that Hunan was the first province of the 29th provinces and municipalities in China to hold a party congress during the period of Cultural Revolution. At that time, Hua Guofeng was enjoying a great distinction. It shows that he already occupied an important position in Mao Zedong's eyes.

However, at that time Hua Guofeng had not gained enough authority and reputation to do what he liked in Hunan Province. Secretary Pu Zhanya [0592 0594 0068] and deputy secretary Yang Dayong [2799 1129 0516] of the provincial party committee were strong army men in Lin Biao clique. They followed Lin Biao's instructions in

everything and impeded Hua Guofeng everywhere. Lin Biao's power and influence were at their highest point and he was extremely arrogant. For this reason, Hua was powerless against Pu and Yang. Pu Zhanya was once political commissar of the 54th army, which took part in the China-India border war. Together with the army commander Ding Sheng [0002 4141] he commanded the army and achieved impressive military successes. Later, together with Ding Sheng he attended a victory celebration meeting in Shannan district of Sizang. Before his transfer to Hunan as the 1st political commissar of Hunan military area (that concurrent post was not assumed by Hua Guofeng, a rare exception in mainland China), Pu had been deputy political commissar of the Guangzhou military unit. Yang Dayong was an armyman of seniority and was formerly deputy commander of the provincial military area. After Long Shujin's transfer to Xinjiang, his post of commander was taken over by Yang. Thus, armyman were very influential in Hunan Province and politically Hua Guofeng was not quite successful at that time.

Hua Guofeng was originally a trusted follower placed by Mao Zedong in his home town and Hua was grateful to Mao. Meanwhile, instigated by Lin Biao, Pu and Yang contended with him for power within the provincial party committee and impeded Hua everywhere. Under the circumstances, it was only natural that Hua Guofeng leaned to the side of Mao in the course of struggle between Mao and Lin.

In August and September that year, the rift between Mao Zedong and Lin Biao widened greatly when the Lushan conference was held, and the two were on the verge of complete rupture. Under the circumstances, a dividing line gradually became clear between the Mao and Lin camps. At that time, many top men in the provinces and municipalities assumed the same attitude as Hua Guofeng but Hua's way of doing things was completely different from theirs. This was another reason why Mao Zedong subsequently promoted him to the work at the center.

For His Resolute Opposition to Lin, Hua Was Charged with Important Tasks by Mao

In April 1971 the Central Committee held a criticize-Lin and rectify-style report-back meeting (i.e., the 99-man meeting) in Beijing attended by responsible persons of the Central Committee departments and various provinces and municipalities. The meeting was also attended by Hua Guofeng.

Actuated by his tactics of struggle, Mao Zedong outwardly was not too hard on Lin Biao. Therefore at this meeting he did not refer directly to Lin Biao, he merely released the written self-criticisms made by Lin's trusted followers--Huang Yongsheng [780 3057 0524], Wu Faxian [0702 3127 2009], Li Zuopeng [2621 0155 7720] and Qiu Hu zuo [6726 2585 0155], Li Xuefeng [2621 7185 1496] and Zheng Weishan [6774 4850 1472], urging those present at the meeting to make a statement of their position after reading them. At the same time, however, Mao intentionally encouraged his trusted followers to open fire and put pressure on Lin. Judging by the internal materials released by the Chinese Communist Party after the Lin Biao incident, those present at the meeting did not speak enthusiastically. This was perhaps because these people had long weathered official storms. They found it difficult to predict the will of heaven and had no clear idea of where the struggle was going. These people, might consider it unwise to open fire before Mao gave a clear hint, for fear that they would be suspected of attaching too much weight to the wrong thing. However, Hua Guofeng behaved in a very active way at the meeting. This was contrary to his normal behavior.

Quoting a brief report on the meeting, these materials stated: Wang Hongwen [3769 3163 2429] and Hua Guofeng (only the names of these two men were listed) and others said that what the abovementioned persons did at the Lushan conference must not be regarded as unimportant, nor could this problem be looked upon in an isolated way and that it must be viewed historically on the basis of their consistent actions. Even though the written criticisms by these people had been passed at the meeting, and that by this time it seemed the conflict between Mao and Lin had come to the completed phase in Mao's eyes, it was apparent that this was the tactic employed by Mao to set Lin's mind at rest for the time being, so he would not make a desperate move. Yet in their speeches Wang Hongwen and Hua Guofeng asserted that their glib criticisms were not deep enough and were not words straight from their hearts. This shows that the stand Hua Guofeng took against Lin at the meeting was clear-cut and that even though he had not yet denounced Lin by name, his speech already reflected the imminent struggle to suppress the Lin Biao group.

Things did not end there. The materials further revealed that the day after (14th) of the "September 13" incident, Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932] and Hua Guofeng knew everything about the incident. On hearing the incident Li Desheng phoned Song Peizhang [1345 0160 3864], urging him to take proper measures to maintain peace and order in Anhwei Province in order to get ready to bear the impact of the incident. In this connection, at a meeting held by the Central Committee to criticize and denounce Lin Biao's crimes, Hua Guofeng even more did not fall behind others, stood up several times to expose Lin Biao's conspirational activities of usurping party leadership and seizing state power. His speech was passionate and indignant. These materials, in referring to Hua, particularly emphasized that he "stood up to speak several times." They did not use these words to describe the speeches made by others. Thus, in the course of struggle between Mao and Lin, Hua's performance was quite dynamic and extraordinary. At that time, Mao Zedong issued instructions to maintain secrecy and not to transmit details of the "September 13" incident for the time being, even to the provincial party committees and field army party committees. Generally speaking, all the responsible persons of provinces heard news about the "September 13" incident only in the second half of September, but Hua Guofeng knew everything the day after the incident. This shows that in Mao's eyes Hua was regarded as a reliable trusted subordinate.

Gratitude to and Grudge Against Hunan Rebel Factions

Hua Guofeng's transfer from Hunan to the Central Committee was presumably around the time of the Lin Biao incident. After this Hua worked at the center but he still held the concurrent post of 1st secretary of the Hunan provincial party committee, and was not relieved of it. It was not until the year after the downfall of the Jiang Qing clique that Hua gave up the post in favor of Mao Zh'iyong [3029 5268 3938] who was part of his clique.

After the Lin Biao incident, Hua Guofeng returned to Hunan in 1972 to take charge of provincial party committee's ferret-out movement to "pull out Lin Biao anti-party clique's black nail in Hunan." This black nail was none other than Pu Zhanya, secretary of the provincial party committee and concurrently vice political commissar of the provincial military area, his old enemy from the time he was charge of the provincial party committee work. For a time the ferret-out movement also involved Yang Dayong, commander of the provincial military region who was accused of being Pu's accomplice. Later, Yang got protection from the Central Committee and

kept his post. This move was designed to avoid involving too many targets in the movement. Pu Zhanya was not so lucky. He was purged, discharged from his post and prosecuted. After that Pu sank into degradation for a period of time until the end of 1974 when he staged a comeback and secured the post of deputy political commissar of Lanzhou military unit.

Subsequently, a power struggle took place between the Jiang Qing clique and Hua. The power struggle was touched off by Hunan provincial party committee's attitude towards the rebel factions. At the later stage of the Cultural Revolution, the rebel factions of various provinces and municipalities were repressed in varying degrees. This was the case not only in areas where the old power-holders were back in power but also in provinces where the beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution were in power. The responsible persons of these provincial party committees took different points of departure but used the same tactics in repressing the rebel factions. Mao Zedong appointed Jiang Qing head of the Central Committee group for criticizing Lin and Confucius to check the rightist relapse wind. One objective was to seize back, through the criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius movement, part of the power the rebel factions had lost.

But the situation in Hunan was somewhat special. Tang Zhongfa and Hu Y., responsible persons of "Workers' Union" and Ye Weidong, responsible person of "Xiangjiang Wind and Thunder" believed that they rendered meritorious service to Hua Guofeng in the past but were subsequently dumped and reduced to obscurity. Something, they felt, that was clearly the result of Hua's "burning his bridges behind him." As for Zhang Baisen who claimed he had treated Hua with kindness in the past, he was now kept in the cold, had no power or authority in the provincial party committee and was given only an empty title of vice chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee. He therefore also hated Hua Guofeng for his ingratitude. Under such circumstances Zhang Baisen together with Tang, Hu and Ye, taking advantage of the excellent opportunity of criticize-Lin, criticize-Confucius movement which was spreading in depth and breadth, set up the provincial mass criticism group in 1974. Egged on by Jiang Qing, the group forcefully moved into all departments of the provincial organs. The group formed their own system, issuing orders without authorization, and obviously standing up to the provincial party committee as an equal. Further, Zhang Baisen and others, in the name of making "recommendations," put forward "tentative namelists" of the secretariat of the provincial party committee and the standing committee, and compelled Hua Guofeng to declare his stand.

Hua Guofeng knew that the other side had bad intentions but, cowed by Jiang Qing's despotic power, dared not stand up against it. He had no alternative but to pretend politeness and compliance and surrender part of the power so that the rebels got what they wanted and will not make big trouble. Sure enough, won over to Hua's side, these people were satisfied, drifted with the current and came to peace terms temporarily with Hua and the provincial party committee.

Early in 1976, Jiang Qing, taking advantage of the "sharp attack on right wind to reverse of verdict" movement, instigated the rebels in various localities to create disturbances and "seize capitalist-roaders at every level." Echoing Jiang Qing, Zhang Baisen once again acted as master-mind of the rebel factions and told several of their leaders: "Outwardly Hua Guofeng seems to be amenable but actually he knows how to play tricks. We worked together many years and I know him well.

He will take advantage of the present opportunity and expand our right to speak in the provincial party committee." Accordingly, they moved troops about and stirred up the people. They secretly made a list of those to be brought into the standing committee of the provincial party committee and planned reorganization of the leading groups of Changsha and Zhaoyang prefecture and provincial party committees. Zhang proposed "dig into," "squeeze in" and "seize" tactics. He was ready to "smash the cauldrons and sink the boat" and to fight it out with Hua Guofeng.

After the Tienanmen incident, the CCP Central Committee passed two resolutions appointing Hua Guofeng as first vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee and concurrently premier of the State Council. Only then did Zhang realize that the tide was turning against him. Sizing up the situation and realizing he was no match for Hua, Zhang Baisan decided to withdraw troops from battle.

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PARTY AND STATE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERIAL BENEFITS, MORALITY DISCUSSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Jiang Tingshen (3068 3060 3932) and Shen Zhongjun (3088 1813 0193): "On the Material Benefits of Socialism and the Morality of Communism"]

[Text] How should we treat the relationship between the material benefits of socialism and the morality of communism? This is recently being discussed by a relatively large number of people and is a theoretical and practical problem encountered in the course of construction of the four modernizations. The correct understanding and handling of their relationship will help in doing a good job in the four modernizations as well as building material and spiritual cultures.

Material benefits and morality belong to two different categories. One is economic law and the other is moral standard; the two cannot be confused with each other. Material benefits are the most fundamental interests of the people, the basic principle that governs social mentality. Morality is a social ideology, a principle of behavior that regulates relations among individuals and relations between the individual and the collective of society. Material benefits and morality reflect the relationship between the people's material life and spiritual bounds. It is the relationship between the existence of the society and social consciousness, the relationship of the unity of opposites. Material interests concern the determination of moral concepts. Morality is rooted in the social economic foundation and is determined by it. However, once it is formed, morality will react against the economic foundation in its own way. But this reaction cannot exceed the objective demands of the socioeconomic development at that time. It would be wrong to expand the reaction of morality, to substitute subjectivism for objectivism and ideological morality for the implementation of the principle of material benefits. In contrast, it would also be wrong to deny the role of morality, to make implementation of the principle of material benefits and the strengthening of the ideological and political work as absolute opposites of communist morality, thinking that we should not talk about communist morality if we were to implement the principle of material benefits. Facts have proved that both tendencies can do damage to the socialist economy and severely hinder the growth of the labor force. During the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" went rampant, they debased the principle of material benefits and opposed combining personal interests and collective interests. They basically denied personal interests. This was an ultra-leftist thought that violated Marxism. Marxism has never rejected material benefits. Marx pointed out early: "Everything people strive for in their struggle is related to their interests." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 82). The basic aim of Communist Party members is to work for the

interest of the vast majority. Socialism is superior to capitalism because most fundamentally it can bring even more material benefits to the masses than capitalism. After the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, there has been a vigorous effort to develop the national economy under the party leadership, implement the principle of distribution according to work, give concern to the material benefits of the masses, improve their daily life, and bring into play their enthusiasm for socialism. This is a very encouraging phenomenon. However, some comrades have taken the view which regards ideological and political work as nonessential empty talk, and which considers that the promotion of communist morality has gone behind its stage and might affect the realization of the principle of material benefits and distribution according to work.

Will the promotion of communist morality hinder the realization of the principle of material benefits of socialism? No. Let us discuss the relationship of the two.

(1) The so-called principle of material benefits of socialism refers to relations of material benefits in the course of socialist production. It is mainly manifested in relationships among state, collective and individual interests. They would not be principles of socialist material benefits if we were concerned with the interests of only one of these and not the others. Material benefits of socialism are based on the means of production in the socialist system of ownership. On this basis, the material interests of the three are consistent. The interests of the socialist state and collective are the common interests of the workers, which represent their long-term and basic interests, and are the source and guarantee of the personal interests of the workers. On one hand, only if the socialist state becomes wealthy and strong with the growth of the collective economy will the material benefits of the individual worker increase and will life be improved and enhanced. On the other hand, state and collective interests cannot be separated from the material benefits of the individual, because the common interests of workers are centered on the basis of the personal interests of the workers, and are ultimately subordinated to the interests of the workers. The ultimate goal of developing production in a socialist state is also to improve the life of its people. When the people's living standard increases and the material benefits of the individual worker increases, it will arouse the workers' enthusiasm in socialism and make even greater contribution to the state and collective, creating even more wealth, thus making state and collective interests a reality. It is therefore clear that the consistency of state, collective, and individual interests is the fundamental characteristic of relationships in the material benefits of socialism. Departure from this characteristic will not establish the principles of socialist material benefits. Just like "the sea ultimately receiving its water from the small streams" and "the small rivers becoming filled when there is water in the big river," their existence depends on each other and cannot be separated.

(2) Communist morality not only does not reject material benefits; morality itself is determined by the relations of material interests. The morality of every class is a manifestation of the interest of that particular class. Communist morality is the morality of the proletariat, as Lenin said, "It totally serves the interests of the struggle by the proletariat" and is "stemmed from the interests of proletarian struggle." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 352). The principle of collectivism in communist morality views the interests of individual worker and the collective as a unified whole. The individual is a member of the collective; personal interests are directly related to collective interests, which improve when the other improves. Only with the growth of collective benefits and a state that becomes wealthy can personal interests be fundamentally safeguarded. We recognize that every individual, including every party member and leading cadres, should have proper personal material

benefits. This is an entirely different matter from individualism. Individualism is a product of several thousand years of the system of private ownership, an ideology of the exploitative class. Its main characteristic is everything for oneself and putting personal interests above collective interests. Personal material benefits for work refers to the material and means of subsistence obtained with his own labor. What we condemn and oppose is individualism and not personal material benefits. Proper material benefits of the individual should be cared for organizationally and safeguarded by state law since it coincides with collectivism.

(3) Under the system of socialism, the material interests of the state, collective, and individual are basically consistent, but are not without contradictions. How should contradictions be resolved when they appear? Of course, we must look for their causes in the current economic system, general and specific policies, and concrete measures; carry out regulation and reform that accord with reality, in order that individual and collective interests can be seen and felt by the masses, and that workers may feel that material benefits of the individual are determined by one's labor capacity and the extent of one's contribution linked to the economic development of the collective and the state. From this, workers may be guided in their concern for production and the development of the entire economic undertaking. However, because the principle of exchange of equal values reflected in distribution according to work actually remains unequal, and because of the varying degree of ideological consciousness among people, the effect of bourgeois and feudal mentality still exists. Therefore, at the same time when material encouragement is being carried out, if we do not strengthen the education of communist morality, some people might not be able to correctly treat the relations of the state, collective, and individual, the relationship between long-term and immediate interests, and foster the bourgeois mentality of individualism. Therefore, to implement the principles of socialist material benefits and to realize distribution according to work, we must strengthen ideological and political work. Construction of the four modernizations not only demands a high degree of material but also of spiritual culture. Of course, moral standards are not the same as administrative measures. They are definite ideological boundaries formed by people's conviction, sense of responsibility and duty, from which one's behavior is determined. When contradictions occur between state and collective interests and personal interests, people will give praise if state and collective interests are placed before personal interests, and if personal interests are consciously subordinated to state and collective interests even to the sacrificing of personal interests if necessary. In contrast, the people will condemn placing personal interests above state and collective interests, and the conduct of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, doing harm to collective interests for personal gain. This kind of praise and condemnation gives rise to public opinion which can nurture and influence the mentality and character of the people and can play an important role in guiding and conditioning the conduct of their work and social activities. The power of such public opinion can regulate people's behavior and various relationships in an even greater scope, and helps to realize the material benefits of socialism. This is a manifestation of morality's reaction on the economic foundation.

The worker's personal material interests under the socialist system is realized mainly through the principle of distribution according to work. Will carrying communist morality forward hinder the implementation of this principle? It will not. If the relationship of the two is properly handled they can promote each other. The reasons are: First, distribution according to work is a product of the system of public

ownership. This principle can be correctly implemented only if guided by the mentality of collectivism. If we do not promote communist morality and do not use collectivist but use bourgeois mentality to treat the principle of distribution according to work, then there may be produced a hired hand mentality of "work according to reward." It may even give rise to illegal and disorderly conduct of benefiting oneself at the expense of others, seeking private gain at public expense, practicing fraud, and undermining the state and collective. This is not only unfavorable to the nurture and growth of the workers' collective mentality and unity among the masses, it will also create many disputes and damage the principle of distribution according to work. Second, distribution according to work and profit on other people's toil are basically opposites. Thus the implementation of the former is itself beneficial to carrying communist ideology forward. Communist morality praises labor as an honor and views profiting by other people's toil as shame. It demands that people respect and love labor, and value the fruit of labor. This can better implement the principle of distribution according to work and can better carry forward communist morality as well as the practice that honors labor and making many contributions. Third, because our country has a large population and a poor foundation to start with, economic problems are still relatively considerable. Besides, we still need to grope and explore in order to make implementation according to work even more ideal. In large modernized production, it is very difficult to accurately measure the size of an individual contribution when a social product is formed by individual labor solely through collective cooperation of enterprises. Due to these reasons, the realization of the principle of distribution according to work must go through a process. In this process, it is unavoidable that some ideological problems will be encountered. Thus it is necessary to strengthen the education of communist morality, promote and carry forward communist morality and practice, regard labor from the standpoint of being masters, create more material wealth for the state, and create conditions for better implementation of the principle of distribution according to work.

What needs to be mentioned in particular is that although socialist society and communist society are different in their condition of economic development, and although the moral concepts that people absorb are also different, socialist society as a lower stage of communist society consists of some factors of communism in the areas of economic relations, morality and spirit. Since in the system of public ownership of the means of production, workers as masters of the state and collective perform some labor without reward, the carrying forward of this revolutionary and death-defying spirit should be praised and encouraged. Communist Party members who are resolute in a life-long struggle for the cause of communism should use an even higher standard of demands on themselves. They should also carry forward the communis style of fearing neither hardship nor death, of benefiting oneself the least but only others. Especially when the interests of the party and the people require some of the people to make sacrifice, Communist Party members should unconditionally subordinate themselves to these interests and go as far as giving up one's life. This is the superior tradition of our party. In our country, countless exemplary Communist Party members and advanced workers have emerged from all trades and professions. This is a manifestation of the sacrificing spirit for socialist construction with the mentality of being masters, and is precisely a manifestation of the new social mentality and practice of our socialist society. "Man needs to have some spirit." We must carry this spirit forward. If each worker possesses this communist morality and practice, realization of the four modernizations will come even sooner.

PARTY AND STATE

LIN BIAO, JIANG QING TRIAL CALLED TRIUMPH FOR LEGAL SYSTEM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 81 p 1

[Editorial: "A Great Victory for the Socialist Legal System"]

[Text] The day that our people have been hoping for for such a long time had finally arrived. On 25 January 1981 the Special Court under the Supreme People's Court, enunciating the people's will and wielding the judicial authority of history, pronounced public sentence on the 10 main culprits of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, in accordance with the provisions of the law. The law of the land has imposed its sanction, and the aspirations of the people have been fulfilled to their satisfaction. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques that had usurped party and state power and had brought calamity to the country and the people were nailed to history's pillar of shame. The 10 main culprits of the counterrevolutionary cliques received the punishment they deserved. Our people who suffered every kind of humiliation and brutal calamities feel proud, elated, and kindled with jubilation. The sentence of the Special Court is a pronouncement that displays justice and that assuages the popular indignation. This is another great victory in our people's struggle with the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques as it is also a great victory for the socialist legal system.

The counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques have been the most destructive to our proletarian dictatorship and the most pernicious in their severity ever since the establishment of New China. In the 10 years of turmoil, the culprits in these cliques have had the intention of usurping party and state. They had the sinister design to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship. They carried out conspiratorial activities, banded together and, relying on high positions and power, carried out most shocking, blood-reeking plots and schemes, too numerous to count. With premeditation they framed and persecuted leading personalities of the state, plotted to stage an armed coup and armed rebellion to overthrow the government and split the nation. They usurped and dominated the instruments of dictatorship, incited to beating, smashing and looting. They provoked violence and instigated many cases of miscarriage of justice. They set themselves up in command of a counterrevolutionary secret service organization to engage in fascist spying activities, persecutions and suppression of the broad masses of cadres and people. According to the statistical data in the indictment alone, they framed and persecuted up to 700,000 people, from heads of state at the top down to the innocent masses. Among the more than 30,000 people persecuted to death, there were old commanders and generals who had fought on all fronts and had shown invincible strength, old revolutionaries who had gone through fire and water all their lives for the cause of the party and had always shown

themselves faithful and devoted, sincere and upright scholars, respected and admired writers, and model workers who on their ordinary stations had made extraordinary contributions. It is even less possible to estimate the number of cadres and people in the various organs and units, people from all walks of life, who have suffered unjustified accusations and persecutions resulting in injuries and deaths under the domination and instigation of these culprits. The 10 years of criminal activities of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques caused especially serious damage to our people's democratic dictatorship and socialist social order, caused extremely serious damage to the national economy and all kinds of other undertakings, and inflicted unprecedented calamities on the peoples of all nationalities.

History shows no mercy. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques oppressed the people, acted as its enemies, but in the end could not escape chastisement by the people. The establishment of a Special Procuratorate and Special Court by the decision of the standing committee of the National People's Congress and the indictment and conviction according to law of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in the most serious criminal case of counterrevolutionary activity since the inception of our government, fully reflected the will of our people.

The public trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques was a great practical experience of vindicating the sanctity of the socialist legal system and also a great practical experience of vindicating the sanctity of the socialist legal system and also a great practical experience in strengthening the development of the socialist legal system and of legal education. It will play an extremely important role and have a deep and far-reaching influence in consolidating our proletarian dictatorship and the healthy development of our socialist undertaking.

Why could the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques perpetrate its outrages and act with utter disregard for human life during the "Cultural Revolution"? One important reason is that they wantonly trampled underfoot the socialist legal system until nothing was left of it. The people's democratic rights, even their right to existence, had lost all protection from the socialist legal system.

First of all, they slandered the socialist legal system as "capitalist" and "revisionist" things and incited the people to subject the system to "revolution" in order to get rid of it. In 1966, Jiang Qing slandered the public security, procuratorate and judicial organs as "all being imports from capitalist countries." Xie Fuzhi was singing the same tune as Jiang Qing when he suggested that the public security organs should be "thoroughly smashed," and incited the people to "smash to smithereens the public security, procuratorate and judicial organs." As to the beating, smashing and looting that society was plagued with at that time, Xie Fuzhi expressed the opinion: "Don't deal with it in the conventional way, don't deal with it as criminal cases." "Things that have been determined in the past...We don't want to be confined and restricted." This was the way by which they wantonly got rid of the "conventional" and the "things determined in the past," which means nothing else but the socialist legal system, and under the slogan of "revolution" evaded the legal procedures laid down in the past and evaded the competent legislative departments.

And furthermore, they used the power they had appropriated to themselves and in their illegal machinations willfully trampled underfoot our Constitution and our laws, doing their utmost to reintroduce the infamous inheritance which had permeated feudal dictatorship, namely "replacement of law by power" and "replacement of law by personal pronouncements," so as to institute their regime of feudal fascism. They did not

want to see or hear evidence, their statements were without rhyme or reason and they willfully pinned crimes on people. They did not care for judicial procedures, but ransacked homes, sent people to prison and inflicted cruel punishments. They would execute people without trial. When they did their best to "replace law by power," they also conspired to formulate the "Six-Point Directive on Public Security" in order to protect their ill-gotten power and to legalize the protection of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cohorts. Relying on these regulations, they oppressed many of our revolutionary cadres. As to their "replacement of law by personal pronouncements," this method was used to the extreme. At meetings Jiang Qing would frequently point out certain people and declare them guilty of certain crimes. Kang Sheng even merely trusted his "intuition" and one-shot "physiognomy" in judging certain old cadres to be "rebels" and "secret enemy agents." These were exactly the methods that the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques used in trampling underfoot and destroying the socialist legal system.

And furthermore, they used the power of so-called "mass movements" which they themselves had stirred up for their ulterior purposes, namely to wreck the socialist legal system. In October 1966, Lin Biao was energetically propounding that "mass movements are naturally reasonable and just," merely to fabricate a justifying theory for the mass movements they had instigated and for using its power to wreck the socialist legal system. According to our country's Constitution, the state president is to be appointed and removed by a decision of the National People's Congress. In December 1966, Zhang Chunqiao instigated Kuai Dafu to circulate widely throughout our society the slogan "Down with Liu Shaoqi." That was a typical example of the way they stirred up, plotted and engineered a so-called "mass movement" and then used its power to wreck the socialist legal system. In December 1966, Jiang Qing slandered the former Minister of Coal Industry Zhang Linzhi as a "sworn follower of Peng Zhen" and later sent Qi Benyu to stir up the masses to "concentrate their bombardment" against Zhang Linzhi. This was the way a minister of the PRC's State Council was illegally arrested, criticized, denounced and cruelly persecuted to death. Premier Zhou was furious when he came to know of it, and decried this method of arresting people as illegal, but the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques went on inciting the masses and using the power of the "mass movements" to wantonly ransack homes, willfully arrest people, willfully inflict punishments and willfully bring people face to face with death, thus wiping out the entire socialist legal system. This cruel lesson teaches us that a country of proletarian dictatorship, after establishing its socialist economy and government institutions, still requires a strict legal system to protect its institutions. A revolutionary legal system is established and operated in reliance on the broad masses, but the actions of the masses must remain within the limits of what the law will permit. The counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques used the pretext of "mass movements" to wreck the socialist legal system. This brought calamities upon our people that were too frightful and should never be allowed to recur.

Having witnessed the investigation of every one of the crimes committed by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, that had brought the people a full measure of blood and tears, the people have painfully come to realize that without a socialist legal system the proletarian dictatorship could be turned upside down, the country fall into complete chaos, and the people inescapably suffer utter misery and dire calamities. The socialist legal system is therefore an institution that the socialist state and its people in effect must not abandon for even a short moment.

There is innumerable evidence that socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are inseparable one from the other. Democracy that will do without a socialist legal system, without the leadership of the party, without discipline and order is certainly not socialist democracy. Only on a foundation of a fully developed democracy can a sound socialist legal system be created, and only by continuously and thoroughly implementing the socialist legal system can the democratic rights of the people be effectively guaranteed. At present, the continuous development of socialist democracy, the perfection of the socialist legal system, the formulation of a system of law, rules and regulations to render democracy institutionalized and legalized, has already become the trend of our days. The broad masses of cadres and people of our country who have personally suffered the bitter experiences of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques will certainly be sure to heighten realization of the importance of strengthening the socialist legal system, will firmly oppose and rectify all symptoms of license, anarchism, and violations of law, and will actively promote the development of the above-mentioned trend now prevailing.

In the course of the present trial, the broad masses of cadres and people, whether spectators directly witnessing the trial, or reading of it in the newspaper, or listening to it on radio, or viewing it on television, all were to varying degrees receiving a vivid lesson of legal education. They increased their legal knowledge, their knowledge concerning the three agencies, namely the public security, procuratorate and the judicial organs, and their knowledge of criminal procedure. The proceedings at the Special Court were rigidly conducted according to our country's criminal procedure. Before the court began its first session the defendants received within the prescribed time copies of the indictment and were also advised of their right to either appoint lawyers or defense councils or to defend themselves. After officially opening the proceedings, the court went through the stages of instituting its examination of the case, hearing arguments and appraisal by the collegiate bench before finally pronouncing sentence. The broad masses of cadres and people also gained a better understanding of the principle of "considering facts as evidence and the law as guideline." During the court proceedings, the court investigated the facts of the case of each defendant. During the investigation the court carefully and precisely produced written evidence and had other evidence read out in public or shown on projection screen, heard oral evidence, called witnesses to attend court and also broadcast tapes of the statements by the defendants, thus fully exposing the counter-revolutionary criminal acts of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and cohorts. In addition, the broad masses of cadres and people gained a better knowledge of the role and significance of lawyers and of the duty of citizens to come forward as witnesses. All this will no doubt have a deep and far-reaching influence on the strengthening of the socialist legal system.

A family member of a cadres who was persecuted to death by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques said: "The fact that the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, those bands of insufferable traitors, are brought to trial according to normal legal procedures and could not evade their conviction according to law, demonstrates clearly that the legal system of our country is being gradually perfected and that the era when people like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their cohorts could wantonly trample underfoot our Constitution and our laws and go scot-free, has passed and will never return. Our party is full of promise and our nation's prospects are bright." Does her statement not reveal the happy state of mind of our broad masses of cadres and people at the time sentence was pronounced on the 10 main culprits in the case of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques?

Let us cheer the great victory won in our struggle for strengthening the socialist legal system! Let us continue to exert ourselves for even greater progress in strengthening the socialist legal system.

PARTY AND STATE

DISCIPLINE URGED IN DEALINGS WITH FOREIGNERS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by Wu Ruosan (0702 5387 0005): "Correct Unhealthy Tendencies, Carry Forward Fine Tradition; The Evil Trends of Using Dealings With Foreigners for Personal Gain Must Be Stopped"]

[Text] In accordance with the guidance of the provincial party committee, the provincial commission for inspecting discipline decided to clear up the problems of cadres of provincial organs who seek gifts and take bribes in economic dealings with foreigners and who take advantage of investigative opportunities abroad to illegally purchase advanced articles of daily use. This is a positive measure to enforce party discipline and maintain good party style. It is highly necessary and we resolutely support it.

Following the growth of foreign economic activities in our province and the opening of the four municipalities to foreigners, commercial activities and economic contacts increase daily. International contacts, scientific and technological, and cultural exchange become increasingly frequent. All this plays a positive role in making our provincial economy prosperous and in promoting scientific, technological and cultural exchange. In these activities, most of the cadres of concerned departments are able to handle matters impartially without seeking gifts and taking bribes, and self-consciously abide by the discipline in dealings with foreigners. However, it is true that certain cadres, even leading cadres, take advantage of the opportunities to go abroad or to Xianggang to conduct investigative and commercial activities to reap big profits. Some ignore state interests, seek gifts and accept bribes, spend lavishly at the expense of the state, and use public office for private gain. Some establish relationships, seek social connections, and attempt to win remittance to purchase advanced articles of daily use. Some even ignore party discipline and state law, seek gifts and accept bribes, and conduct smuggling and opportunistic activities to gain exorbitant profits. Their actions and deeds have created very negative effects on the state internally and externally, seriously damaging the prestige of party and state. If we do not adopt resolute measures to stop it, a capitalist mentality is bound to further degenerate our party and state, and some cadres who are weak in will power will be ruined.

Party and state cadres are public servants of the people. We can only work for the people's interests diligently and conscientiously, cautiously and attentively. The duty of serving the people wholeheartedly does not carry the right to take

advantage of official authority to exercise special privileges and to conduct dishonest practices. Particularly at present when our state is still poor, our economy is having difficulties, the living standard of our people is still very low, it is more necessary for our party members and cadres to consider the state and people in everything. They must give mutual help to the party and share comforts and hardships with the people. We must not allow anything to override the people's interests or to violate party discipline and state law. This is a matter of principle. In dealings with foreigners, we must carry forward fine traditions. Those who observe discipline and abide by the law should be praised; those who ignore party and state interests, seek gifts and take bribes, use public office for private gain, and seriously violate discipline in dealings with foreigners must be criticized, educated, and strictly dealt with. The gifts and bribes taken by these officials must be checked and resolutely returned. We cannot allow these people to take any economic advantage. We must enforce law and discipline upon those who practice smuggling and take part in opportunistic and speculative activities. Only in this way can we achieve the goal of educating the cadres as well as ourselves. We hope that concerned departments will attentively carry out this task, take a thorough grasp of it, and resolutely put a stop to these tendencies.

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PARTY AND STATE

MENTALITY OF WORSHIPING FOREIGN PRODUCTS ANALYZED, REPUDIATED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Liang Renzhuo [2733 0117 0587]: "We Must Still Guard Against the Thinking That Worships Foreign Things"]

[Text] There is a textile machinery plant in Shanghai Municipality which has become internationally known for its low price and high quality products. In recent years, it has sold thousands of complete sets of machinery and large quantities of spare parts to over 30 countries and regions. The plant has continued to receive praises for its products from foreign businessmen and users; orders have arrived there one after another. Yet, ironically, this type of machinery, warmly welcomed by foreign countries has received cold treatment at home, since few are willing to buy it. A textile mill has cancelled a purchase contract that it had signed earlier for such type of machinery under the pretext of the unavailability of capital, and has instead ordered a similar type of machinery from abroad. It has done so despite the high price asked by foreign businessmen. Some comrades said angrily: "Our products unpopular at home are welcomed abroad. A mentality of worshipping everything foreign has again hit our country!"

The question is: How can this mentality occur?

We must trace its root far back into history. Ours is a centuries-old backward economy plagued by poverty. When Western capitalism was entering the heavy machinery manufacturing industrial period during the 18th century, our country remained a feudal society walling itself off to foreign countries. Following the Opium War, foreign goods including foreign machinery, foreign textiles, foreign oil, foreign matches, and foreign nails swarmed like bees into our country, filling marketplaces throughout the land. Following a period of misgiving, some people quickly switched from one extreme position of "honoring the emperor and repelling barbarians" to another extreme position of worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreigners. This shift in trend also affected persons such as Si Ming, a leading character in the novel of Lu Xun entitled "Soap."

He and his wife repeatedly smelled a foreign soap that he had bought in the belief that it must be very effective in washing and rubbing away those ugly wrinkles from the skin of his wife's neck, which would become soft and smooth again. This reflects how deeply rooted is the mentality of worshipping foreign things, and the national sense of inferiority in old China. Since the founding of new China, under the leadership of the party, the Chinese people have persisted in relying mainly on their own efforts to bring about great changes.

But seeds of disease-carrying bacteria sown over the years cannot be wiped out in a single day. Today, some people on the economic construction front feel that "everything homespun is bad and everything foreign is excellent." They are actually affected by such bacteria.

The mentality of worshiping foreign things is based on metaphysics. Some people have contended that since we have criticized and repudiated the conspiracy by the "gang of four" to criticize the thinking of "worship foreign things and fawn on foreigners," it is no longer necessary to guard against the mentality of worshiping foreign things. Literally speaking, did Lin Biao and the "gang of four" really oppose "worshiping foreign things and fawning on foreigners"? Numerous facts that have been made available to us prove that Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were actually typical slaves of foreigners. Their vigorous criticism of "worshiping foreign things and fawning on foreigners" was actually a device to frame false charges against a large number of revolutionary old cadres at the central and local level, and to pave the way for usurping the party and state power. In assessing a problem, we should examine its essence, so that we will not be puzzled by its false appearance. To develop the four modernizations, we must learn from foreign advanced experiences and import some technology, equipment and supplies from abroad. But this does not imply that worshipping everything foreign is justified, everything foreign is excellent, everything we need should be imported from abroad, or even that it is necessary to learn how to sell tickets to public parks and produce bean curd from foreign countries.

Opposing the mentality of worshiping foreign things is the scientific approach to seek truth from facts. We should emphasize seeking truth from facts rather than worship "domestic" or "foreign" things. We must see "advantage and disadvantage in everything." Not everything in economically developed countries is super; nor is everything inferior in the developing countries. During the 10 years of turmoil, the implementation of the reactionary and feudal obscurantist policy by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" plunged our nation into a state of isolation from the rest of the world. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," as a result of increasing contacts between China and other countries, we have broadened our horizons. This is a good thing. Yet the realization that our country lags far behind other countries in science and technology cannot convince the people that everything foreign is excellent and everything homespun is universally bad. Facts show that our products are not inferior to their foreign counterparts. Some types of machinery, even if they are inferior in certain respects, still can produce greater economic results than their "foreign counterparts," because we are well aware of their characteristics and because the supply of their spare parts is guaranteed. The aforementioned fact that "some products unpopular at home are welcomed abroad" also indicates that foreign businessmen emphasize economic results. Although they know that our machine-building industry trails behind the West, they are still actively interested in buying our products following an overall survey of their economic results and technical performances. For example, nearly half of 32,000 sets of textile machinery at over 240 textile mills in Hong Kong were imported from China. Is this an enlightenment that benefits those who are obsessed with foreign goods and consider everything foreign excellent?

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PARTY AND STATE

ZHOU ENLAI'S EXAMPLE OF HOW TO BE A GOOD LEADER STUDIED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 21 Jan 81 p 3

[Article: "Studying How to Be A Good Leader--Notes on Reading 'Selected Writings of Zhou Enlai'"]

[Text] Ever since he participated in the "May Fourth" Movement during his youth, Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote thousands of poems and articles which were filled with his intense revolutionary ardor, exploration of the true meaning of human life, and the summing-up of revolutionary experiences. The Selected Works of Zhou Enlai selected only a very small portion of the large amount of writings covering the later stage of the great revolution until the eve of liberation. But this work is one of the most important.

The "Selected Works" is an important teaching material in studying the party's history and is also a poetic composition describing the historical stage in the life of Comrade Zhou Enlai himself. It not only lets us know many historical facts of the Chinese revolution, but also enables us to understand the life of a great warrior.

Many writings in the "Selected Works" give vivid, touching descriptions of the history at the time. Although it is a volume of summing up experience and theoretical writings, the most outstanding features of the writings are that they use revolutionary practice as the starting point, use typical revolutionary cases for typical descriptions, and raise the summing up to the level of theory. As far as I know, Comrade Zhou never had others write his articles, lectures and even the work summaries for him. Therefore, these writings reveal Comrade Zhou's special character. These are the records of the career of a great practitioner and revolutionary. In them there is neither speculation or idle talk. There are instructions which have resulted from collective discussions, and many of them are the crystallization of the wisdom of the masses. This is the summing up of experience of our party for the past several decades based on the combination of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution. But as we read them, these writings are found to have marked individuality, and, although their theoretical nature is strong, they are clear in historical facts, clear and lively in the literary style and full of enthusiasm. Upon reading between the lines we find a lofty revolutionary morality, making the towering figure of a great Marxist, Zhou Enlai, erect in front of us.

This is a model by which Communist Party members can learn from forever!

People are never perfect. There is always this or that shortcoming, or even mistake, in their work. But this towering figure is very different from the others. His noble thoughts and feelings, his devotion to the people's cause, his spirit of fairness and selflessness and tirelessness in official duties are completely recorded faithfully in this volume of "Selected Works": Forever examine yourself and reform through practice. Many comrades have heard Comrade Zhou examine his own shortcomings and mistakes so many times that they did not want to hear anymore. But he still said: "It is good to talk about one's mistakes. All of you remember my mistakes so that you see that I don't make the same mistakes again." Comrade Zhou said: "A leader's prestige is enhanced not by covering up mistakes but by correcting mistakes. It is cultivated not from boasting but from working intensely." The life of Comrade Zhou is so open and above board, and in order to make greater contributions to the party's and people's cause, he cultivated himself highly.

When I studied the "Selected Works", I was deeply moved. The days that I worked for him constantly leaped before my eyes. Although I have not studied profoundly, I was very much stirred emotionally. Perhaps due to various objective factors now existing in daily work, in social life, and in people's thinking, the article, "How To Be a Good Leader," has carried me into deep thought. This article is an outline of a speech at the working personnel conference of the "Two-Yan" (The Eighth Route Army Liaison Office at Hongyansui and the site for Comrade Zhou Enlai's outside activities at No 50 Zengjiayan. Since both names contain the character "yan", it is called "Two-Yan" for short) liaison office and the XINHUA RIBAO in Chongqing in 1943. Just at that time the rectification campaign was underway in Yanan, and in carrying out rectification and study among all working personnel of "Two-Yan" and XINHUA RIBAO, the most important thing was to study Comrade Mao Zedong's documents on "rectifying three work styles," to unite thinking with practice of each individual, and to reform thinking. The article was a speech by Comrade Zhou to make himself serve as an example to others by taking the lead in the study. In 1943, after the Southern Anhui Incident, comrades Zhou Enlai, Dong Biwu, Deng Yingchao and others holding fast to that extremely difficult and treacherous situation, through continuous struggle and endeavor strived for the situation to change for the better so as to continue to uphold our party's correct principle of unification and fighting the Japanese. Work at "Two-Yan" at that time was extremely hard and busy. By cramming in his leisure hours, Comrade Zhou led all of us to study, and studied more seriously and deeply than other comrades. The article, "How To Be a Good Leader," is evidence of this. Based on his own revolutionary work for many years and on the experiences in various respects of our party's leading work, Comrade Zhou made a very plain, concrete, and penetrating analytical summary. At the same time, he consulted the theories of Marx and Lenin on this issue, and some of the thought and experience of Comrade Mao Zedong, and wrote this speech which is a systematic, complete, and penetrating speech about leadership work. Even today, this article is still full of real meaning.

If my memory is correct, the weather in Chongqing at the end of April was almost like summer, damp and muggy, and there were more than 100 persons sitting in the same room (it was a very small room as seen by now). For the sake of security, windows facing outside were generally closed. Everybody felt as if they were suffocating, and some comrades occasionally had to go out in the hall to breathe some fresh air. With his clothes damp with sweat, Comrade Zhou made a report for a full

6 hours. Within the same period, Comrade Zhou also led all of us to study various theoretical writings, including the History of the Soviet Union Communist Party (Bolshevik); the study report was also made by Comrade Zhou himself. In this way, he worked with limited time and abundant energy. He was forever united with the masses and educated and led them. For many years, he worked among the masses on the one hand, never considering himself the leader who gives out orders easily and takes command of everything, but consulting, discussing, persuading, and educating. On the other hand, he always had a trusting attitude and a positive, helpful attitude toward his subordinates, thus developing what the cadres are good at. Upon recollection, those were really days of happiness. There were altogether 200 or 300 comrades in "Two-Yan" and the office of XINHUA RIBAO coming from everywhere, but they were capable of uniting, to be close as members of a family, all working hard only for the common revolutionary objective. Certainly, there were struggles and criticisms, but this is normal and the atmosphere was relaxed.

Comrade Zhou said in his writings: "Lead the masses and make friends." "The method of leading the party and that of leading the masses are different. The method and attitude of leading the masses should not make them feel like we are leading them. The basic method of leading the masses is to persuade, and never to give orders. The leader himself should play an exemplary role in leading the masses and in making friends."

After the party became the party to lead the government, many became "top leaders," and they seemed to change. When the 10 years of catastrophe began, the normal relations among comrades completely disintegrated. Relations between the higher and lower leaders, between the party and the masses, between the cadres and the masses, and between comrades were all in a chaotic state. The so-called rebel factions, factions in power, capitalist roaders...created under those special circumstances are [evidence] of the conspiracy of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and others for the purpose of splitting and destroying our party. However there were also many comrades, who, following the changes in time and position, also walked on the evil road and were contaminated by unhealthy tendencies. When a subordinate met with a superior, he either nodded and bent slightly in greeting, and flattered, fawned and boasted. Otherwise still with a posture of the rebel clique, they looked askance at him, and, no matter what instruction was given by the leader, it was usually half executed. Some of the leading cadres claimed credit for themselves, [implemented] bureaucracy, acted on impulse, were fond of issuing blind orders without understanding the situation of the subordinate, and felt they were always correct. They considered what they said as imperial decrees and would not listen to opinions which differed at all. They even formed cliques, expelled the competent, and appointed confidants, with the result that a foul atmosphere developed in some units and in some places. They were apathetic about the repeated orders of the Central Committee. This situation has occurred in our party's history. There should be vigilance when a party leads the government.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, although the nation still took a bent road, the correct line and principles were formulated after the Third Plenum and the situation became much better. But there are still many difficulties. The key to the situations is leadership. Improving leadership becomes a universal demand. How can we improve? This article on the personal insight of Comrade Zhou written 38 years ago can possibly be good medicine if the leading cadres will follow it in earnest. Comrade Zhou acted in this way not only before our party took power in

government, but also after our party took the leading position in the nation. His style of leadership never changed.

After liberation, a certain comrade, who worked for Comrade Zhou for many years, undertook work in the south. He knew that Comrade Zhou and Sister Deng [Deng Yingchao, Comrade Zhou's wife] liked to eat southern products. Before the spring festival of a certain year, he asked someone to bring them a small basket of fruits and other foods. The same was done the second year. When I went to see Comrade Zhou and Sister Deng one day, I suddenly heard Comrade Zhou say furiously: "So-and-so has learned to send gifts. If everybody does the same, how horrible it will be! Sister Deng told me that she had already remitted money to that comrade. Otherwise, the things should be sent back." At the time I said that this was only a little goodwill on the part of the comrades, and he should not take it seriously. Comrade Zhou said to me pointedly: "Did so-and-so come to Peking recently? You must have invited him for dinner, and you have also invited those old comrades in Chongqing, haven't you?" I could not help but reply: "It's only a dinner in my home. It's not easy for them to come to Peking from far away. It's only for old comrades to get together to see one another." But Comrade Zhou said: "What you have said is right, but there is also a matter of principle. If old colleagues and old comrades-in-arm of the past get together very often, it is likely that the mountain stronghold mentality and factions will be shaped gradually. It would be better to be more strict." I watched the serious expression on Comrade Zhou and felt ashamed. For several decades, there were innumerable comrades who had either worked under the leadership of the premier or together with him. He had always tried to make so many friends, and, to those who were closest to him, he was always more strict and gave out more criticism. The party's leadership strikes deeper and deeper roots in the people's heart. The party's prestige among the people becomes higher and higher. These are also inseparable from the leadership of Comrade Zhou.

As regards making friends, Comrade Zhou is also our model. All our comrades who had worked in "Two-Yan" realized this point from personal experience. During such a long period, in addition to the struggle against the Kuomintang, Comrade Zhou's efforts were devoted entirely to making friends. Making friends was also for the benefit of waging struggle against the Kuomintang so as to win victory. At that time a United Front Department was set up under the Southern Bureau [of the party Central Committee]. Comrade Zhou was personally in charge of this department, under which there were special party, youth, women, military, culture, etc. groups. Almost all the comrades working in "Two-Yan" were organized in these specialized small groups which were responsible for definite united front work, the most important of which was making friends. His work was very busy at that time, but every night he had to meet with friends from various sides, from leaders of the democratic parties, top leaders of the Kuomintang who could be won over, down to prominent persons in the cultural circle, scholars, writers, artists, young actors and actresses, young students, workers, etc. What gave me an especially deep impression was that, when several students of the Chongqing Yu Cai Elementary School failed to go to Lan'an to study, Comrade Zhou made a special visit to see them one day, taking their small hands to take a walk under the Hongyang Gorge and encouraging them to emphasize politics and to work harder to study specialized subjects so as to make a greater contribution to the revolutionary cause. These children have now become famous persons in literature and the arts. Comrade Zhou tirelessly had long talks with friends of various circles, frequently from dusk to dawn. No matter what problems they brought in, all the friends would leave at ease. During those years, the

friends he had met and became acquainted with numbered in the thousands. These friends have accepted our party's correct opinions and finally made up a forceful, progressive contingent. On the eve of liberation, when the high tide of revolution arrived, they became an important force in overcoming the enemy and in liberating the nation earlier than expected.

Comrade Zhou was never perfunctory to his friends but always opened his heart to show his sincerity and showed deep concern for them. In the article, "Take More Good Care of Progressive Friends" in the "Selected Works", it was written that Mr Tao Hsingzhi [7118 5887 4249] died of a stroke. Comrade Zhou rushed to Mr Tao's residence: "As we were rushing to the place, he had already taken his last breath; this hurt us deeply. But when we grasped his hand, it was still warm, and his complexion had not changed.... To be cautious, we decided to lay the corpse in the funeral parlor for more than 12 hours to see whether there would be any change, and then put him in a coffin." This deep kin-like feeling and consideration was really touching.

On 8 January, 1976, there was a bleak wind and a gloomy atmosphere. On 5 April, 1976, the wind erupted like a storm and the fatherland woke up. In 1981, the people of the entire country see and think clearly, and they look to the future. Comrade Zhou Enlai left behind a fine tradition of Communism, and people hope that the dazzling sparks of his influence will soon be seen among many leaders, and that Comrade Zhou Enlai's glorious writings will be handed down for generations.

9503-R

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY COMMITTEES URGED TO LEAD IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Jiang Ke [1203 2688]: "Party Committees Must Take Charge of Matters Themselves"]

[Text] The endeavor to come to grips with ideological education is a central link in unifying the entire party and the people throughout the country behind the program for developing the four modernizations. Particularly at a time when the economy is being readjusted, political reforms are underway, and the masses are becoming more ideologically active than ever, giving rise to numerous ideological problems, the ideological and political work must keep pace with such developments. This assertion has been comprehended and endorsed by more and more comrades. This is a gratifying achievement on our ideological front.

However, this has also touched off the following question: Who should assume the main responsibility for the ideological and political work? One opinion holds that although doing a good job in the field of the ideological and political work is the responsibility of everyone, the propaganda departments should bear the brunt of it; the party committees themselves will find it difficult to do anything about it because they must concentrate on doing things in an all-round way. This assertion appears to be incorrect.

True, as part of the party, the propaganda and other departments do have the responsibility and obligation to actively and voluntarily convey to the public the party's principles and policies; to answer various practical questions; to help and guide the masses to size up the situation, to distinguish right from wrong, and to fully devote their political enthusiasm and highly energetic spirit to the great cause of the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Yet, such responsibility and role assumed by the propaganda and other departments should not and can in no way take the place of the responsibility that should be discharged by the party committees. The reason is that they are only advisers and assistants to the party committees at all levels. Since the ideological and political work has a bearing on the entire situation, and since it is so important a central link in the realization of the general task and objective of the entire party, how can the party committees at all levels, which must take the overall situation into account, ignore such a central link? Numerous facts fully indicate an undeniable linkage between the failure of many localities and units to thoroughly, extensively, continuously, actively and vigorously carry out the ideological and political work, and their party committees' indifferent attitude and their unwillingness to attach importance to and lead this work. Undoubtedly, if no immediate attempt is made to change this situation, and

if the party committees never want to take charge of this matter, I am afraid that the so-called "strengthening of the ideological and political work" will eventually turn out to be a meaningless and empty slogan unpopular with the people.

Another reason that the aforementioned "assistants" and "advisers" cannot take the place of party committees is that there is a close connection between some ideological problems that exist in cadres and the masses and the ideological and organizational line and workstyle of some leading cadres, and particularly principal leading comrades on party committees. Let me ask: If the party committees do not take the initiative to grasp such ideological problems, and rely solely on their subordinate departments to handle them, can they do a good job in this field? A case in point is that in the efforts to firmly and successfully carry out the ideological and political work, the party committees must persist in "clearing their own house first" and must rectify their way of thinking and workstyle. At the same time, the party committees must strengthen their supervision of, and place strict demands on those departments and of ice cadres directly under their command in order to avoid "discrimination." Party committees must strictly discipline themselves, and their organs must be clean and efficient. If well done, this work itself is an ideological work done without fanfare. If they proceed to educate the masses from that basis, every order can be executed by the masses without fail and will be wholeheartedly supported by them.

Party committees must take charge of this matter themselves. In doing so, they can help improve the leadership of the party, and solve the problem of overconcentration of power resulting from the practice of "centralization" or implementation of a system under which one party organization could not supervise another, there was no distinction between the party and government and the party could take the place of the government. Of course, by encouraging party committees to perform ideological and political work, I do not mean that they should commit themselves to the solution of all ideological problems without exception both significant and insignificant, despite their priorities. But I do mean that party committees must correctly understand and conscientiously analyze ideological contradictions, main tendencies, sentiments of the masses that arise from the implementation of the central task of the party, and take strong measures to deal with them. When problems of greatest concern to the masses and of greatest influence on a certain period of history emerge, thus sharpening contradictions, principal leading comrades on party committees should personally take up such matters and convey and properly explain them to the masses and skillfully guide them to seek prompt and satisfactory solutions. Failing this means that the party committees have abandoned their responsibility and are guilty of being derelict in their duty, with serious consequences. Today, the problem is that some party committees are often too busy to be able to deal with ideological problems that exist in cadres and the masses, or adopt an indifferent attitude toward them or are too preoccupied with trivial administrative affairs to be able to take care of their "regular duty" or "business of their main concern." Such trivial affairs include transfer of personnel from one unit to another on the production front which must be discussed and approved by party committees, and purchase of a bench by logistics departments which must also be studied and decided by party committees. It seems that in failing to attend to such things, party committees will weaken their leadership. This is actually an incredible misunderstanding of the role assumed by party leadership.

To be blunt, the party committees should regard fully arousing the enthusiasm of the masses of people in the ideological and political fields as their greatest concern and an important measure to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party. For their reason, I hope that leading comrades on party committees in various localities can quickly free themselves from their trivial administrative duties and truly concentrate energy and time on doing "the business of their main concern." Undoubtedly, as long as party committees at all levels directly concern themselves with this matter, they can certainly introduce a new look and vitality and liveliness to our ideological and political work.

PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL UNITY BETWEEN PARTY MEMBERS, CENTRAL COMMITTEE URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Li Shifang (2621 1102 5364): "Party Members Must Maintain Political Unity with the Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is the advance unit of the Chinese working class, the leadership core of the cause of Chinese socialism, and the faithful representative of the interests of the peoples of various races. A member of the communist party must do his work in accordance with the line, principles and policies established by the party Central Committee and maintain political unity with it. This is an extremely important principle of our party; it is a hallmark for evaluating a member of the communist party as to whether or not he possesses the party spirit. As far as each member of the communist party is concerned, regardless of his rank, he only has the obligation to carry out the party's line, principles and policies resolutely, but has no right to be at cross purposes with or oppose the party. Each and every communist party member is required to maintain political unity with the party Central Committee, otherwise he will be unqualified for the title of "member of the CCP." The prerequisite for maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee is that each member must conform to the political line established by the party Central Committee as well as the principles and policies it prescribed for the purpose of implementing this political line. He must carry them all through conscientiously. Feigned compliance will not be permitted, nor will resistance to or deviation from the party's line, principles and policies. At present, party members must firmly support and carry out the political line for the building of a socialist nation with the four modernizations and a series of principles and policies as determined by the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee. Moreover, they must struggle positively for their realization through their own exemplary conduct, otherwise, they will lose their qualification as a communist party member. Only when the vast number of party members maintain political unity with the party Central Committee can the realization of the party's political line be insured. If the party members fail to maintain political unity with the party Central Committee and each goes his own way, each beating his own drum and blowing his own horn, the party will become feeble and infirm, and the correct line of the party will not be realized in a victorious way. The party is a political organization; it has its iron organizational discipline. The party constitution approved by the Eighth National People's Congress clearly stipulates that the resolutions adopted by the

party must be carried out unconditionally. Each individual party member must obey the party organization; the minority must obey the majority; lower level organizations must obey the higher level organizations; the party organizations of the entire nation must obey the National People's Congress and the Central Committee. In the new draft of the party constitution and "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," these principles have also been reemphasized. It requires each communist party member to maintain unity with the line, principles and policies as established by the party Central Committee in matters regarding politics, ideology, organization, discipline and action. If there is no such unity, if party members are like a sheet of loose sand, if each of them acts on his own and does whatever he sees fit, then the talk about realizing the party's political line and insuring the party's achieving unity and centralization will all become empty. If a party member disagrees with the party's principles and policies, he can put forward a proposal in a party conference according to organizational procedures. But talking irresponsibly and raising groundless criticisms without considering the circumstances is absolutely forbidden. Retire a step and think over it! Even if mistakes in certain areas made by the party leadership are found, a member of the communist party ought to have a correct attitude; On the one hand, he should raise criticism within the party based on the idea of building the party for the good of the public and carry out struggle in accordance with principle; on the other, he should maintain unity with the party in his organizational activities. Only by so doing can the party be kept from splitting and can he stay within the party ranks and correct mistakes inside the party through inner party struggles. In past inner party struggles, many of our senior proletarian revolutionaries did exactly this. Only then could they enable our party to continue overcoming errors and achieve victory.

9450-R

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

WRITER WANTS ELIMINATION OF EVIL PRACTICES WITHIN PARTY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Jia Ruitan [6328 3843 1086]: "Think of the Party, Comrades!"]

[Text] "Our party is great; our party is glorious"--the people have firmly believed this. It is exactly this party which led the people to overthrow the "three large mountains," establish new China, carry out socialist revolution and construction, and wrote a chapter of unparalleled brilliance in China's age-old history. Had there not been the communist party, there would not have been new China, neither would there have been the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people nor their well-being. This is a historic conclusion.

Nevertheless, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary gang went wild with their rule of oppression for a whole decade, thus bringing great calamities to our party and causing its illustrious image to be seriously damaged. At the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, our party summed up its historic experience and formulated a correct line of the new epoch. It enabled our beloved ancestral country to advance into a period of restoration, while she was receiving treatment for the wounds covering her whole body. Our party has great hopes. However, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary gang took advantage of the party's mistakes to develop the poisonous bacteria of bourgeois thinking, Fascism, and feudalism to their utmost limits--these could not be completely eradicated in a single move. At the present time, some evil practice still exists. In particular, the seeking of personal profit by some of the party's responsible cadres is like a tumor growing in our party's structure. It is worth noting that some comrades have not yet clearly recognized and are not sufficiently vigilant about this point. They still lack self-awareness. Although such leaders who are seriously scheming for personal profit are very small in number, yet a speck of stain may lead to the contamination of a great space. If there is only one man who fails to reform himself, this man will continue to paint our party's face black. Without resolute, prompt and thorough correction, the problem will continue damaging the muscle and bone of our party like a plague. For this reason, there is a great need to expose and punish such behavior. At the present time, the most usual manifestations and characteristics of the party's individual responsible cadres' scheming for personal profit are as follows:

Factionalism cannot be eliminated only because of selfishness that hides in people's minds. Factionalism, from the outset, is a "special product" of the Cultural Revolution. Some comrades in leading positions have accepted this precious thing as bequeathed property. "Since you have protected me, you are a great guy; if you oppose me, you are a man of inferior quality notwithstanding that your talent is useful to the four modernizations. You are very cordial and intimate to one group of men, talk easily and work well with them, but you show only a half smiling face and have no feelings at all for another group. Within the party committee there is a small committee of the party; outside the party committee, there is a hole for ventilation. Regardless of the level of the position he holds, an official must have a private secretary who does not carry the title of "secretary." This is the first type.

Once such an official has power in his hands, it will be exercised only for himself. At ordinary times, he is smooth and slick, flattering people all around. Once he has climbed to a leading position, he will work faithfully for the man who has promoted him. He will superficially comply with but covertly oppose leadership which does not connect with him a chain relationship; and he will also abuse his authority over subordinates. This is the second type.

Considering "power" as "money and profit" and "democracy" as a means of "mastering the people," those who have power to govern men use men to profit themselves. Those who have the power to govern materials use materials to profit themselves, thus reversing the relationship of "master" and "public servant" from the root up. This is the third type.

Mindful of both public and personal interests, they have truly taken care of both: They have at least fallen into the category of "good cadres." Some leading cadres also work, but also put great effort into personal profit. As far as their work for the public is concerned, it deserves a passing mark, lagging not much behind the others. In conducting their private business, on the surface, they are careless and ignorant but, in actuality, clever and smart: They are able to search for something that is illegal through legal channels, seek personal gain in public dealings, and use public office for private gain. This is the fourth type.

Thinking is rigid and policies overlooked; major affairs are not considered and "personalization" put into practice. They cannot tolerate seeing the vitality emerging after the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, and yet excuse themselves for being unable to follow up; They have therefore buried their heads in the modernization of "families." They even gloss this over, saying: "This is the only thing we can do, as we have found no other suitable way to follow." This is the fifth type.

They don't consider it as "attack" or "revenge" but only as "reasonable care." Nowadays, factional persecution, attack or revenge especially stress skill, and are very secretive. They exclude those who hold different views on the grounds of "the needs of work," deceive their superiors and fool their inferiors. This is the sixth type.

They show to other people the face of a Buddha but scheme for themselves with full determination. Some leaders are always beaming with smiles, in solving problems, they fawn and toady for fear of offending people. When their own interests are involved, they are courageous and cautious and full of ingenuity; when mutual interests are involved they give conveniences to others with a view to conveniencing themselves. Whatever is not in their interest will be evaded or done perfunctorily, laughingly and jokingly. This is the seventh type.

He has often sung soprano to others, and always uses his flashlight to illuminate the faults of others. While demanding others to take the interests of the whole into account and develop a fine style, he himself is very stingy. Whenever embezzlement is possible, he will do it. Principle varies with individual; rules and regulations are only set up for others. This is the eighth type.

There are more examples we can give. Each has a very rich content. Various evil practices have seriously ruined the party's workstyle as well as the people's workstyle. They have already become great obstacles to the realization of the four modernizations. Generally speaking, these evils have three causes: 1) the pernicious influence of the "gang of four," 2) the pernicious influence of feudalism, and 3) the deficiencies of the system itself. The party Central Committee, having scrutinized the popular sentiment and responding to the people's will, is now taking the whole situation into account in order to find a solution. The people strongly believe that our party can eliminate all such impurities. But those leading comrades who have been intoxicated by the evil practices, must sober up. Think of our party, comrades! The party's power and prestige are to be demonstrated through the words and deeds of the vast number of party members, especially those of the leading cadres on all levels. The people not only place trust in but also rely on the party; the four modernizations have given our party a great historic mission with unequalled glory. We really should not disappoint the people. Conscious correction will be welcomed by the masses. If we fail to put an end to evil practices, we shall be compelled to stand in opposition to the people. In the end, party discipline and party workstyle will not tolerate this and we will be abandoned by the people. These are faithful admonitions that ought to be brought to the attention of all.

9450-R
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION URGED TO COMBINE WITH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 81 p 2

[Report by Li Yuguan [2621 3768 1351] and Ye Liangxing [0673 0357 2502]: "Material Rewards Are Not the Cure-All; Ideological Education Should Not Be Neglected--Party Branch of Transport Station in Youxi County Does a Good Job in Ideological and Political Work Around Production, Mental Attitude of Staff Workers Greatly Improved, Surpassed Annual Production Targets Last November"]

[Text] The party branch of the transport station in Youxi County aroused the enthusiasm of staff workers to undertake the four modernizations while strengthening ideological and political work around production. Last November, it surpassed and completed 26 percent of the annual target in output value, or 8.6 percent of the annual target in profit.

The transport station in Youxi County has total of 3 production teams, 9 groups, and 242 staff workers. Its work sites are scattered. For a time, after the use of economic measures to manage enterprises was emphasized, the party branch of this station slackened. Thus regardless of the increase in material rewards and income of staff workers, an unhealthy mentality arose and undesirable trends and evil practices appeared. These conditions made the party branch understand that material rewards were not the cure-all; the principle of putting ideology in the lead should never be abandoned. Only by combining material encouragement and ideological and political work can staff workers fully maintain their enthusiasm in work. They have placed ideological and political work on their daily agenda, and strengthened ideological and political work around production. The main course of action follows:

(1) Paying attention to ideological tendencies and resolving them promptly. Staff workers' enthusiasm markedly increased after the station carried out the wage system of "adding rewards to basic wages," but some undesirable tendencies also appeared. For example, in order to surpass output quotas for more bonus, some staff workers raised unit prices without permission and sought transport fees arbitrarily. To seek quicker profits, some disregarded operating rules and ignored quality, and held poor attitudes in service. They did not correct damaged and missing items discovered in loading, did not follow the requests of cargo owners when stacking up their goods, and became quarrelsome when cargo owners made suggestions. In dealing with these problems, the party branch, apart from carrying out education on an individual basis, used various types of meetings and both positive and negative experiences to expound on the three relationships: the relationships between transport

work and construction of the four modernizations, between production growth and the increase in living standard, and between attitude in service and one's vital interests. Through education, staff workers understood that doing a good job in transport work contributed toward construction of the four modernizations; careful handling of goods and materials in transport worked for the growth of agricultural production. While ideological education was strengthened, it was combined with economic sanctions explicitly stipulating that the fine would be doubled for those caught raising unit prices without permission and seeking transport fees arbitrarily. Moreover, comment books were kept at several key service units, which the leaders consulted frequently, thus combining education and supervision of each service unit. Some workers were influenced by anarchist mentality, reflecting that the management system of enterprises had been extremely restrictive and lacking in freedom. The station specially invited the vice-principal of the party school of the county committee to speak to the workers on "democracy and the legal system" to help them correctly understand the relationships between democracy and centralism, and between freedom and discipline, thus strengthening organizational discipline to overcome anarchist tendencies.

(2) Taking the mass line, jointly performing ideological work, and giving full play to group leaders, party and youth league members, staff workers, and parents. Since last year, the station's party branch decided to expand the authority of group leaders. Group leaders now manage production and handle violation of rules and disputes of workers. Meetings are held to make evaluation at the end of each month by the group as a unit. The station studies important matters with the participation of group leaders. The leaders of the station also give support to their work in various ways, giving full play to their initiative and strengthening ideological and political work. Group leaders are familiar with conditions because they are with the staff workers day and night. As a result, ideological and political work is given direction, and undesirable ideological tendencies among staff workers largely receive prompt education and treatment. For the individual few staff workers who have serious problems, the efforts of various sides including group leaders, party and Youth League members, and parents are organized to jointly educate. A young worker in the transport team near the city frequently associated himself with some dubious characters in the society and took up the bad habits of gluttony and laziness, going as far as swindling, stealing, and even attempting a holdup. The stations' leaders visited his home many times to ask his parents not to spoil him and to save him through close coordination with the station. With cooperation from his parents, this young worker began to change. In order to sever his ties with bad friends, the station's party branch decided to transfer him to Youxikou, and appointed a station deputy chief and a transport teamleader to educate him. As soon as he showed a little progress he was promptly given praise and encouragement. Now this young worker has greatly improved.

(3) Cadres set examples; examples are more important than precepts. A number of people at the station's party branch persevere in achieving discipline of oneself before disciplining others. One must first do what is required of staff workers with absolutely no special privileges. First, in terms of bonus, they have consciously set restrictions, stipulating that cadres and workers should be rewarded and penalized similarly. During the high transport season, management personnel would take their turns to labor. When confronted with dangerous and difficult work, leaders would personally participate. Last April, a large lock gate had to be transported

and installed. It weighed over 10 metric tons and was 7 or 8 meters wide. The route had a section of mountainous road that was only a meter wide. On the outer side of the road was a deep pit that was definitely dangerous. The Fengzhang [5170 7685 4545], secretary of the station's party branch, led over 10 workers to haul, transport, and install it, successfully completing the task.

The station's party branch also combined strengthening ideological education and concern for the living of staff workers. Last summer, the station often received phone calls from cargo owners who complained about Youxikou transport team's low efficiency and slowness in loading and transport. After the leader of the station went to Youxikou to understand conditions, he discovered that the workers were enthusiastic in their work but because there was much cargo, they could not promptly load and transport them. To speedily load and transport goods and materials out they did not even take noon rest. It was particularly harder for the workers of the train station on the other side of the river, where there were no stores to provide food and water. He studied the situation and decided with the team leader to start work a little earlier in the morning, finish a little later at night, and maintain a noon rest. Management personnel would also take turns to come and give support. An old man was specially hired to boil water, cook porridge, and to take these to the work site. The canteen of this transport team was extremely run-down. The station spent over 2,000 yuan to renovate it. This small town was unusually short of vegetables, and to solve this problem for the staff workers, the station dispatched a motor tricycle to deliver vegetables to them from the vicinity of the city every other day. In this way the staff workers' enthusiasm to labor was enhanced, and the daily workload greatly increased, speeding up the turnover of cargo.

After ideological and political work was strengthened, the ideological consciousness of staff workers greatly increased and there appeared quite a few deeds of wholeheartedness in public service. After 7 in the evening of 6 August, a freighter on the Youxikou River ran up on rocks and was about to sink. On hearing the news, workers of the transport team in Youxikou immediately mobilized over 100 men for the rescue. After more than 4 hours of hard struggle, they salvaged over 50 metric tons of pine boards valued at over 6,000 yuan. The captain wanted to pay them but they refused, saying that they could not accept wages for rescuing state goods and materials, which was not regular transport. Since last year they have also volunteered for the county supply and marketing cooperative to save over 30 metric tons of firewood endangered by flood, and have salvaged a large quantity of apples from a train that caught fire when it passed Youxihou. These actions were commended by concerned departments.

9586

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

REINFORCING IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK SAID IMPORTANT TO FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] Reinforcing ideological-political work is an important guarantee for the realization of the four modernization construction. It is even more important at this historical turning point and in face of the arduous and heavy tasks.

Today, reinforcing ideological-political work is also an important guarantee to successfully readjust the economy and consolidate stability and unity. To turn the entire national economy from the passive to the active, the Party Central Committee and the State Council decided on a further conscientious readjustment. As the readjustment this time affects the situation as a whole and influences all sides, there will inevitably be many practical and ideological problems. At this critical moment, besides large amounts of governmental and organizational work, we must also perform extensive, intensive and careful ideological-political work in order to raise the spirit of all nationalities in the country and restore and develop the Yanan spirit and the pioneering and revolutionary spirit of diligence and thrift and arduous struggle of early liberation. These constitute an inestimable force for us to succeed in the four modernization construction, especially in the current readjustment.

Our party is the nuclear force leading the people of China in the socialist revolution and construction. Its leadership is mainly political. From the day of its founding, it has always stressed ideological-political work. It has always felt that ideological-political work is the fundamental guarantee of revolution and construction. Whether in times of victory or in times of setbacks, it will always reinforce its ideological-political work and strengthen its leadership in the aspects of lines and policies. As these are the proper functions of the party committees, they must free themselves from the concrete affairs of administration and business and devote their principal energy and time on ideological-political work. This is the main point of improving the party's leadership.

However, in a previous period, certain comrades of some organizations did indeed entertain unwarranted hesitations or misunderstandings in regard to the party's ideological-political work. Analyzing them, we find three problems in their ideological understanding:

The first is the problem of the relationship between politics and economics. Some comrades feel that, since economic construction is the center today and no political movement is pursued, ideological-political work has become unessential, thereby slackening it. This is incorrect. True, to realize the four modernizations, we must take economic construction as the center. However, this absolutely does not mean that, in developing the social production force, we stress production only in terms of production and no longer need the guarantee of ideological-political work. In the 10-year calamity, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" severed the relationship between politics and economics and advocated that politics would blast everything. Such reactionary political philosophy naturally must be thoroughly criticized. However, nor must we go to the other extreme and "replace" or abolish political work with economic work. The relationship between political work and economic and other items of work is that between the guarantor and the guaranteed. Some comrades feel that, by considering political work the guarantee of economic work today, it seems to be lowering the position of political work. Actually, the power of political work is in its ability to assure the completion of the revolutionary and construction tasks of the various periods. The "guaranteeing function" is where the essence and power of our party's political work lie. As for those comrades doing organizational and propaganda work who feel that, as they are not professionals, with the shift of the emphasis, they must change their occupation, their view is also wrong. The party's organizational and propaganda work itself is its important work, and it is professional work. The party's ideological-political work, for instance, must be considered as a science and studied, particularly on how to adapt it to the central task of the four modernizations under the new historical conditions. It indeed calls for a lot of knowledge. We must serve as good political cadres adapted to the needs of the four modernizations and make up our mind to become experts and specialists in this field.

The second is the problem of understanding the management of the economy with economic means. We stress the management of the economy with economic means because economics has its inherent laws, and violations of the objective laws will bring punishment. This is its original implication, and any interpretation or view beyond that is wrong. Under socialism, we want to follow the principle of to each according to his labor and give serious attention to the material interest of the broad masses, but we must never thereby feel that we only need wages and bonuses and not ideological-political work or spiritual encouragement, or interpret what we do as "money above all." If so, we will deviate from the correct direction. While giving serious attention to the principle of material interest, we must reinforce ideological-political work, advocate the communist labor attitude and suitably integrate the propaganda of current policies with the communist education. With only the former and without the latter, it will be impossible for us to broaden people's outlook and lead the masses to establish the lofty goal of communism.

The third is the problem of the relationship between reinforcing the socialist legal system and strengthening political work. After smashing the "gang of four," we firmly brought order out of chaos, emphasized the rule of law, developed the socialist democracy and strengthened the socialist legal system. All these were highly necessary. However, some comrades feel that, with the economic means on one side and the weapon of the legal system on the other, ideological-political work appears to be nonessential. This also is a misunderstanding. We must realize that a sound legal system is an important guarantee for our country to march toward the road of sound development. However, just like the fact that economic means is not the only means, nor is the weapon of the legal system omnipotent. Furthermore, it can only produce a coercive and restraining effect on the small number of criminals violating the laws of the state and infringing on the interest of the people, but it cannot produce a direct effect on the ideological and understanding problems of the broad masses and the overwhelming majority of the people. The party committees and government agencies of all levels and the mass and league organizations must perform patient and careful ideological-political work, fostering the development of the correct ideas and positive factors among the masses, channeling and guiding the various divergent and incorrect ideas to the healthy and positive side and converting the negative into the positive. Reinforcing ideological-political work, "taking precautionary measures against possible troubles," will prevent many contradictions from reaching an aggravated degree and stop some people from following the road of crime. This is the important and unique function of ideological-political work which cannot be replaced by the weapon of the legal system. Even the action of punishing the criminals according to law must also be accompanied with ideological-political education. It will be difficult to effect reform by simple punishment alone while overlooking the necessary education.

In ideological-political work, while refraining from oversimplification and crudity, we must also guard against indifference and nonintervention. Today, we must give more attention to the latter tendency. Failing to grasp what should be grasped, to manage what should be managed, or to say what should be said, and especially failing to resist and criticize vigorously the words and acts in violation of the four basic principles must be promptly corrected.

Naturally, stressing the importance of ideological-political work does not mean that it is omnipotent or that it can solve all problems. It should be said that social existence determines social consciousness. Many issues of ideological understanding are caused by practical problems. They surface with the emergence of practical problems and vanish by means of ideological-political work and with the gradual solution of the practical problems. For this reason, we must integrate propaganda education and ideological-political work with economic and other items of work, and combine ideological-political work with the solution of practical problems. We must be adept at uncovering people's ideological problems in the practice of production and affairs and promote the development of economic and other items of work through the solution of the problems of ideology and understanding. In short, the importance and position

of ideological-political work exist objectively, to be neither exaggerated nor disparaged, and ideological-political work cannot be replaced by anything else. This is the correct conclusion which should be reached by us.

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CBO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO REVIVE SPIRIT OF 'FOOLISH OLD MAN' EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Shi Mi [1102 4717]: "The Foolish Old Man Still Cannot 'Come Down From the Mountain'"]

[Text] Seeking truth from facts is essential to the emancipation of the mind. The attempt to distort revolutionary slogans promoted by our party for years and then criticize them is absolutely not a signal that will lead to the emancipation of the mind. For example, sometime ago, the "foolish old man who removed the mountains" became a subject of repudiation by some people. It was said that the reason that the foolish old man was repudiated was that he did not follow the approach of seeking truth from facts. For this reason, it is time for "him to quit the mountains." Was it true that the foolish old man did not seek truth from facts? It is clear that he had courage to acknowledge and determination to overcome difficulties. He had also consistently taken practical action to remove obstacles. He had relied on his own efforts to dig up the mountains bit by bit with hoe in hand, and had never harbored any illusions. This was his noble quality. The spirit of the foolish old man is a spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle which can be used to overcome difficulties and remold the world. Otherwise, the people would have had no alternative but to sit idly by in the mountains if another wise old man's advice were followed. This is why the Chinese Communist Party members truly interested in seeking truth from facts prefer to be the foolish old man rather than that wise old man they feel ashamed of being in the face of difficulties.

Of course, an undeniable fact is that for years, since the founding of new China, the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains has been repeatedly distorted by some people. When the foolish old man who removed the mountains was publicized, they mistook it for mobilizing large numbers of people to remove the mountains to fill the rivers and for launching projects that harassed people and wasted money. When self-reliance and hard struggle were emphasized, they mistook it for walling the country off to foreigners so that they could act like the megalomaniac king of Yelang. The attempt to emphasize the aspect of removing the mountains in the story in disregard of the spirit of the foolish old man is a bad workstyle for which the foolish old man himself should not be blamed. All we should do is draw lessons from such mistakes and use them as a reminder against similar mistakes in the future.

In the past, we used the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains to dig up the three great mountains. Today, we still face many mountains, namely, difficulties and problems, mountains which are a legacy of history. As a result

of the 10-year catastrophe, these mountains have gone up higher and higher. Digging up these mountains is not easy at all. Nor can it be accomplished on short order. In this connection, there is nobody we can turn to for help but ourselves. We must rely on the Communist Party and the masses of people under its leadership to faithfully and consistently go on digging in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains.

Foolish old men in their millions constitute the pillar of our nation. Our future task of digging the mountains remains very difficult. How can the foolish old man quit the mountains before they are removed?

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES DIALECTICAL NATURE OF PRACTICE

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU (PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH) in Chinese No 12, 25 Dec 80 pp 22-28

[Article by Xiao Zhenchang (5135 2182 1603): "On the Dialectical Nature of Practice"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The Marxist philosophy absorbs practice into the theory of cognition, applies dialectical materialism to the process and development of cognition, and thereby establishes a scientific theory of cognition. Practice is the unity of many kinds of contradictions; therefore we must not only materialistically but also dialectically understand practice in order to really adhere to the Marxist theory of cognition and give full play to the role of this powerful theoretical weapon.

I

Human society is a special realm differentiated from the world of nature. Practice is the basic force differentiating man from the world of nature. Practice puts society in opposition to the world of nature; practice also enables man to convert his cognition of the objective world and his aim into external realities.

Practice is a purposeful material activity to change the objective world undertaken by man alone. Hence, as the unity of many kinds of contradictions, the foremost characteristic of practice consists in that it has both a subjective aspect and an objective aspect, or in other words the unity of subjectivity and objectivity. The interrelationship between the component elements of practice, such as the aim of practice, means, activities of practice, object of practice, and results of practice, fully bear out this kind of unity.

The subjectivity of practice consists in the purposefulness of practice; that is, practice is man's purposeful activity. Lenin said: "The aim of cognition is subjective in the first place" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 221). An aim is not necessarily an external reality at first; it is the internal prescriptive nature of practice which reflects man's demand for practice in the subjective form. But we are materialists, and we do not necessarily take the aim of practice as something purely subjective and self-generated; "actually, man's aim is nurtured by the objective world and takes it as its premise--recognizes it as existing and real" (ibid, p 201). Precisely because this aim originates from the objective world, takes shape on the basis of man's practice, and embodies man's demand for practice, therefore aim is not likely to remain satisfied with its earliest subjective form and must externalize into reality, i.e., "achieve the genuine character of this form of

external reality" (ibid, p 230). Some comrades do not acknowledge that practice has a subjective character, thinking that this would result in some theoretical troubles. Little do they realize that not acknowledging the fact that practice harbors a subjective factor would result in even greater theoretical troubles. Although utilitarianism also speaks of man's activity of practice, it does not acknowledge practice as the social man's conscious, purposeful and planned activity but takes it as a biological adaptation to the conditions of life undertaken by man on the basis of his instincts. This serves to turn practice into something biological, obliterate the distinction between man and animals, and thereby remove the social character of practice. Therefore, it would be very difficult to draw a clear boundary from utilitarianism if we do not acknowledge that practice has a subjective character.

In acknowledging that practice has a subjective character, the Marxist theory of cognition is definitely not like voluntarism in attempting to conceptualize practice; precisely to the contrary, we think the content of the aim of practice is objective and continues to externalize into reality; this enables practice to possess an even more fundamentally objective character. Hegel said: "Aim unites with objectivity through means, and also unites with itself in objectivity" ("Logic," Vol II, The Commercial Press, 1976, p 433). With what he said about the a priori nature of aim set aside, this statement is very reasonable. Aim is a result without reality; result is a realized aim. The development from aim to the result of practice is a complicated dialectical process. When aim externalizes into reality, it requires a corresponding external means, i.e., the means of practice. Hegel said: "Man has the power to control the external world of nature because of his instruments" (ibid, p 438). The rationality of aim is contained in the means of practice; whether or not the means of practice can bring out the rationality of aim is the key to realizing that aim. "If a worker wishes to do good work, he must first of all have good instruments": this is a sophisticated generalization of what the Chinese usually speak of in an idiom as a truth and of the unity of aim and means. The view which ignores the decisive role of the means of practice in the changing of the objective world is hardly congruous with the Marxist theory of cognition. The unity of aim and means constitutes man's activity of practice; this is also the beginning of the materialization of aim. That is, "aim unites with objectivity through means," turning practice into an objective material force irrespective of people's subjective will. This is to say, the reason why practice possesses such a formidable mobile force in changing the objective world is because of the unity of the aim of practice (demand) and the means of practice; without the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice, the activity of practice can hardly proceed.

But, this is not at all to say that the object of practice is not important. The object of practice is the object of direct cognition; the two are consistent. Only thus would the aim man derives from practice have its objective content. Nor can the means of practice exist in isolation apart from the object of practice; although, after being processed by man, it is no longer a pure natural thing, it comes after all from the objective world which is the object of practice. The result of practice is the object of practice in a changed form of existence; that is, aim "unites with itself in objectivity." In the whole process of practice, the object of practice appears in the objective form of a recipient of the activity of practice; although the activity of practice, as a unity of the aim and means of practice, is also an objective material force, in this process of practice it serves the aim of practice. Therefore, the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice is

in reality a unity of contradictions between the aim of practice and the object of practice through means: this is the most fundamental dialectical nature of practice. When we examined the dialectical nature of practice in the past, our focus was limited to the contradiction between the certainty and uncertainty of the criteria of practice; that was rather confined. We should not forget the vengeful lessons the objective world has given us when we neglected to study the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice or even failed to acknowledge such a unity.

The practice emphasized by the Marxist theory of cognition is interwoven with dialectics; we must fully understand in the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice that they are both mutually related and mutually exclusive. Lenin said: "The reason the aim (of man's activity) remains incomplete is this: [he] takes actuality as something nonexistent, and does not acknowledge its (actuality's) objective reality" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 234). This explains that the realization of the aim of practice cannot always be very smooth; the activity of practice cannot possibly be always spared setbacks. This is because on the one hand the objective world, as the object of practice, develops and changes according to its own laws, just as Hegel said: "the question lies in that objects in the natural world are powerful and they put up all sorts of resistance" (cited indirectly from "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 348). On the other hand, it is because of the intervention of subjectivism, as Lenin pointed out: "Man's will and man's practice themselves...are liable to hinder the attainment of his own aim" (ibid, pp 232-233). Therefore, the dialectical relationship between the subjectivity and objectivity of practice is very complicated. If man wishes to achieve success, he must handle and solve this relationship between them very well.

The aim of practice comes from nature and must also be subordinated to nature: only in this way can man conquer nature. To the Marxists, a correct aim of practice must not only keep in view present interests and effects but also cast a glance as far as possible at the profound and long-range social consequences caused by the attempt to realize a definite practice. Because of the concrete nature and historical nature of practice, generally speaking, the aim of practice can never exceed the conditions provided by practice. Therefore, the aim is always of a certain confined and partial nature, and even a correct aim can only put forward demands within certain limits and cannot include without fail all aspects of the objective world's complicated connections. Engels said: "If we need to labor for several thousand years before we learn slightly how to estimate the relatively more distant /natural/ influence of our productive actions, then it would be far more difficult for us to learn how to foresee the relatively more distant /social/ influence of these actions" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 518). He pointed out that in order to obtain arable land, residents of Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor and other places cut down all the forests; little did they know that these places would have now become barren lands today just because of this since they caused these places to lose the centers for gathering and storing water. This is to say, because of the shallow aim of practice, people often pay attention to obtaining the nearest and most direct beneficial results in certain aspects and lack scientific foresight as to the more profound and distant consequences of practice; or it may be said that because they lack any long-range aim, people are surprised to discover after immediate success is achieved that the more profound and distant influence yielded by the activity of practice aimed at obtaining immediate interests is not in accord with their earliest aim of practice or even completely to the contrary. Under these circumstances, speaking of the immediate present, practice is purposeful; but

speaking of the long-range prospect, practice has fallen victim to blindness. The objectivity of the object of practice excludes and resists the subjectivity of practice; the results of practice becomes unexpected.

Therefore, the Marxist theory of cognition holds that, in the handling of the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice, the key to obtaining success in practice lies in making the aim of practice and the mode of the activity of practice conform to the intrinsic laws of the object of practice itself. What is mentioned as "conforming" here requires that people should not only control the recent and direct development and change of those objective laws, but also understand as much as possible the broader, more profound and distant function of those objective laws in their mutual connections, bring out the consistency between their immediate interests and long-range interests in the aim and requirement of practice, reduce their blindness, and thereby attain the expected results. Of course, because of the unlimited nature of the objective world and the development of its laws, man's practice penetrates nature only gradually; hence, however correct or long-range the aim of practice might be, its partial change and modification, or its encountering unexpected situations, would be a normal, frequent occurrence. This illustrates that in the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice there still exists some disunity; this is the dialectical nature of man's practice and also the motivating force for the forward development of practice itself.

But this is totally different from the ill consequences resulting from the simple exaggeration of the role of the aim of practice by idealist voluntarism in spite of the mutually restraining relationship between the various elements of practice. Slogans like "How Much the Land Produces Depends on How Audacious People Are," "Don't Worry About Not Being Able to Achieve Them, Just Worry About Not Thinking of Them," are precisely representative of voluntarism which indefinitely exaggerates the aim and demotes or even removes the objectivity of practice. People shouting such slogans may also put a dazzling cloak over aim, but in reality what they profess is but topsy-turvy ideas without any objective foundation; not to mention profound and long-range consequences of practice, they don't even think about immediate results and they do things as if once the aim is posted and temerarious efforts are made, everything will just turn out the way they wish. The result is that the outcome, of course, hardly tallies with their desires, nature takes vengeance on us, and aim draws a blank, bringing forth disastrous consequences.

Lenin said: "Why should practice and action evolve only toward 'goodness'? This is too confined and partial" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 227)! "Goodness" is Hegel's philosophical concept; here it denotes the demand for practice and its external reality, that is, the success of practice. This is to say, not every practice can be successful; to think that so long as one practices, one is bound to realize one's expected aim would be rendering practice confined and partial. Practice can also evolve toward failure; only such an understanding can be a comprehensive one. Then, how do we measure the success or failure of practice? We think that the criterion for measuring the success or failure of practice is the unity of the long-range aim of practice and the corresponding results of practice, or the positive unity of the purposefulness of practice and the results of practice. Because, apart from the results of practice, it would be impossible for us to ultimately judge whether the aim of practice is of a correct and long-range nature, nor, apart from the aim of practice, can we prove whether they are positive or negative. Therefore, only with the two united into one can it become the reliable criterion for measuring the success or failure of practice. This not only tallies

with the actuality of the activity of man's practice but also avoids partiality in theory, and it would be also very significant to our practical work. The so-called success of practice of the utilitarian kind which pays attention only to immediate, temporary interests and results but which, when looked at from the long-range point of view, perpetrates disasters for posterity, is contrary to the Marxist theory of cognition; we must resolutely oppose and eliminate its evil influence.

In a word, the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice is the fundamental dialectical nature of practice interwoven in the entire process of practice; we must master the opposites in unity and master unity between the opposites, and never ignore one aspect or indefinitely exaggerate the other aspect. This is both to insist on materialism and adhere to dialectics in our view of practice.

II

Lenin said: "Practice transcends (theoretical) perception, because practice not only has some general strong points but also has the strong point of reality" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 230). Although this was said in respect to the relationship between practice and perception, in terms of practice itself, the unity of generality and direct reality is also the important dialectical nature of practice. If we say that to study the unity of the subjectivity and objectivity of practice is to make the aim of practice consistent with the object of practice, make the activity of practice conform to objective laws, and thereby achieve the success of practice, then to study the unity of the generality and direct reality of practice is mainly to make the aim of practice consistent with the results of practice; when aim evolves into external reality, it provides objective conditions for the concordance and consistency between the subject and the object, that is, for truth.

Do we have any basis for relatively differentiating the effects of different flanks of the dialectical nature of practice? Yes, we do. After pointing out that practice has the characteristics of generality and direct reality, Lenin immediately followed with: "The activity of aim is not directed at itself...but designed to obtain the genuine nature of the form of external reality through the elimination of the (aspects, characteristics, and phenomena) prescribed by the /external/ world" (ibid, p 230). What is the relationship between these two passages? When Hegel spoke of the "rationale of goodness," he said: "This rationale is higher than the rationale of perception previously examined, because it not only has general qualifications but also the qualification of absolute reality." "Therefore, the activity of aim is not directed toward itself in order to impart to itself a prescription already given and make it its own; rather, it intends to establish its own prescription and give itself the genuine nature of the form of external reality by discarding the prescription of the external world" ("Logic," Vol II, p 523). Lenin absorbed the rational elements of Hegel's discourses and modified them, and then expressed them with the concise language of dialectical materialism. Therefore, these two passages of Lenin are not unrelated to each other; there is an internal relationship between them. Simply put, precisely because practice has the characteristics of the unity between generality and direct reality, therefore aim is able to be reflected in the form of external reality through a change of certain aspects, characteristics and phenomena of the external world. This is also how the unity between the generality and direct reality of practice determines the unity between the aim of practice and results of practice.

As regards the interpretation of the generality of practice, the ordinary way is to say that practice is the practice of the vast masses of the people; under the premise of being in accord with objective laws and cause-and-effect constraints, similar kinds of practice are bound to produce similar results in any place, so long as conditions are the same. This is of course correct. But I am of the opinion that the generality of practice should be understood mainly from the relationship between various elements of practice itself. Why under similar conditions would similar activities of practice produce similar results of practice? This is because the unity of the aim of practice and results of practice is general, or the consistency between the object of man's perception and object of man's attempt at change is general.

Understanding the generality of practice this way is beneficial to our effort to clarify certain important theoretical questions. Since the object of practice is also the object of perception and the object of change, and there is consistency between them, then, the fact that the material world is the "ultimate source" of perception and that practice is "the only source" of perception are also consistent with each other and there is no mutual exclusion or fundamental confrontation between them. The view which holds that the material world is the ultimate source of perception and practice is merely the path of perception theoretically dissects the consistency between the object of perception and the object of change and is hence erroneous. In reality, apart from the object of change, there cannot be any correct reflection of the external world, because an object other than the object of change cannot become the direct, realistic source of perception; only an object of change in practice can be the direct source of perception. Therefore, the view that the material world is the ultimate source of perception and practice is not the only source of perception looks on the surface like it emphasizes materialism, but in reality it actually demotes the status and role of practice in the theory of cognition. Precisely because the consistency between the object of perception and the object of change is general, therefore practice can become the only criterion for testing truth. If the object of perception and the object of change are two layers of skin isolated from each other and mutually insulated from each other, then the objective criterion of truth will also have been removed. The view which holds that truth exists objectively, practice is but a way, a means of testing truth, also regards objective existence as the object of perception; but it overlooks an even more important aspect, that is, this objective existence is also the object of change; this view therefore dissects their consistency. This being the case, not just the criterion of objective existence of the object of change becomes nonexistent, but the practice divorced from the object of change also becomes baseless.

From the foregoing, we can see that we must understand the generality of practice from the consistency between the object of perception and the object of change and the unity between the aim of practice and results of practice. Only thus can we proceed to explore the contested problems in the theory of cognition in a way that is penetrating and that would be beneficial to our attempt to achieve some progress in the study of certain theoretical problems.

But the generality of practice does not obtain in isolation; it exists, rather, in unity with the direct reality of practice. The generality of practice can only achieve its concrete actuality through the direct reality of practice, and the direct reality of practice also can only find its common basis in the generality

of practice. This is to say, the unity between the aim and results in the generality of practice can only be realized through the direct reality of practice, and the direct reality of practice can only become manifest as a strong material force of direct reality through the realization of the unity between the aim and results in the generality of practice. Precisely because the direct reality of practice is the undertaker and realizer of the generality of practice, it therefore possesses even more important strong points in comparison with the former.

We all know that the aim of practice takes shape in practice itself; once it takes shape, it immediately has the strong tendency and urge to realize itself. But it is impossible for the aim to realize itself; it must attain the expected results through providing itself with objectivity in the objective world and realizing this tendency and urge. Marx said: "An idea can never /realize anything/. In order to realize an idea, there must be man who applies the force of practice" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 152). The "force of practice" mentioned here means the direct reality of practice. The reason why the direct reality of practice can become a "force of practice" is because man has used changed natural things to conquer the world of nature. This is just as Engel said: in order to conquer nature, "man added some other objects in the world of nature in their midst; thus, man put the world of nature against the world of nature itself, and he also invented instruments for attaining this end" (cited indirectly from "Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 348). On account of this, man did not seek to cope with the world of nature with his bare hands but to insert another object, namely the means of practice, between himself and the world of nature, so that man's action could regulate the objective objects through the means of practice and demonstrate a powerful force of direct reality: this is the characteristic which inevitably enables practice to possess a direct reality.

The importance of the characteristic of the direct reality of practice lies in that it not only makes the aim begin to evolve toward objectivity through the means, i.e., begin to discard itself, but because people, when the aim of their practice externalizes, do not hesitate to wear out their means in their attempt to preserve and realize their aim, this inevitably leads to the result of conquering nature, so that the aim is united with the result and so that their own needs are satisfied. Therefore, the direct reality of practice is the decisive force for realizing the unity between the aim and the result and the fundamental guarantee that the generality of practice may become a reality. In people's struggle to change the objective world, if in the case of a concrete activity of practice the results of practice are really what has been expected by the aim, then, it may be said that this activity of practice has now already come to a close. But, in view of the dialectical nature of practice, the result again evolves into a cause; the result of practice is the actualized aim and the beginning of a new aim of practice. This makes the activity of practice a continuous, uninterrupted, and indefinite process, which is thus indicative of the repetitive and progressive nature of practice. Lenin said: "The world will not satisfy man, man is therefore determined to change the world by his own action" (ibid, p 229). In terms of the entirety of man's practice, the aim and demand of practice evolve eternally from the lower to the higher form, and the means of practice, too, continues to renovate itself and gradually develops in the direction of a higher and higher degree of precision and greater and greater extent of power; this makes practice penetrate nature deeper and deeper, demonstrating its infinite strength in changing the world. Therefore, we say that the direct reality of practice even more concretely reflects the essence of practice.

Practice is the material activity of its direct reality in changing the world; it makes the object of practice appear before people, whose senses and mental faculties thereby reflect the external world, perceive its essence through the phenomena, master the objective laws, and obtain scientific theories. Practice is man's unique objective activity, an activity which is at the same time united together with the object of practice; this is why practice becomes the sole source of perception. The view which holds that practice is but a bridge, a connecting cord, between subjectivity and objectivity, which therefore regards practice as a path of perception, and which consequently objects practice as the only source of perception contravenes the characteristic of the direct reality of practice. Since the activity of practice is united together with the object of practice, whether a theory is true or false can also only be tested by practice; therefore, the characteristic of the direct reality of practice and practice as the only criterion for testing truth are really two sides of the same question or two questions unified into a single one. The view which regards objective existence as the only criterion for testing truth and practice as a way and a means for testing truth actually dissects the integrity of the mutual connection between the activity of practice and the objective external world; it therefore can hardly be said to be correct.

To sum up, it is important to study the unity between the direct reality of practice and the generality of practice. To simplify practice into a single "work" designation is too confining and lacks an overall understanding of the dialectical meaning of practice. The direct reality of practice realizes the generality of practice according to the requirement of the unity between the aim and the results posted by practice; the generality of practice points out the direction for the direct reality of practice, puts forward new demands, and thereby enables practice to gradually deepen and develop. We must cleanse away the metaphysical view which splits the dialectical unity between the generality and direct reality of practice, and enable the dialectical view of practice to penetrate deep into people's minds.

III

The founders of Marxism-Leninism held that practice is the only criterion for testing truth. Lenin said: "Of course, here we must not forget: the criterion of practice can never in essence /completely/ verify or refute any of man's outer appearances. This criterion is also so 'uncertain' that it need not make man's knowledge 'absolute'; but it is at the same time so 'certain' that it is in the position to carry out relentless struggle against all variations of idealism and agnosticism. If what our practice verifies is the only, ultimate, and objective truth, then we must acknowledge: adhering to the scientific path of the materialist point of view is the only path leading to such truth" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, pp 142-143). This unity between the certainty (i.e., absolute nature) and uncertainty (i.e., relative nature) of the criterion of practice put forward by Lenin is the important dialectical nature of practice; it has solved the connection between practice and truth (science), and it has been an important contribution to the Marxist theory of cognition.

The unity of the absolute nature and the relative nature of practice makes man's activity of practice an indefinite continuity on the one hand and a many-sided process on the other hand. The absoluteness of practice is always contained in the relativity of practice, and the relativity of practice always contains and realizes the absoluteness of practice.

Man's activity of practice is turned toward the objective world and relies on the objective world; he lets the objective world determine his own activity. But the existence of the objective world is absolute, and unconditional. The objective world is the object of man's practice. Precisely because the objective existence of the object of man's practice is absolute, and its development and evolution is indefinite, so man's practice is given an absolute nature, and he can therefore perceive and change the absolutely existing objective world in the endless activity of his practice. Although people cannot completely perceive and change the world all of a sudden, and, as the objects of their practice, concrete objective things are selected, nevertheless these things are a part of the absolute and indefinite objective world; countless concrete objective things therefore constitute the indefinitely developing objective world. Hence, the objects of practice are inexhaustible; this furnishes the objective foundation for the absoluteness of practice.

In the process of practice, the activity of practice constituted by the unity of aim and means acts on the objects of practice and thereby produces the results of practice. The means of practice are continuously worn out for the realization of the aim, whereas the results of practice expand operational realms for new aims on the one hand and often also turn into new means and insert themselves between the new aims and the world of nature on the other hand, thus constituting new activities of practice which in turn act on new objects of practice. Hegel said: "This helps establish the /intervening indefinite progression/" ("Logic," Vol II, p 441). Therefore, man's practice is an indefinite, cyclic process of progression in the shape of a spiral, which embodies the absoluteness of practice.

But, the absoluteness of practice must be realized by the relativity of practice; the two are inseparable. The relativity of practice obtains because the objective things which enter the realms of man's practice are all finite objects; this finitude of the objects of a given practice determines the relativity of practice. At the same time, because man's practice is constrained by the historical conditions in society in which every generation of man lives, the aims of practice are limited, and the means of practice and activities of practice also cannot be separated from the material conditions and realms provided by that era, the results of practice must also be limited. This is namely the historical character of practice, or the relativity of practice.

The unity between the absoluteness and relativity of practice is the dialectical nature of practice itself; this makes practice as the criterion for testing truth also dialectical, i.e., with a unity between certainty and uncertainty. Man's control over nature is reflected in practice; it can altogether prove that our knowledge which reflects the objective world is objective truth in the realm in which practice functions. The certainty (absoluteness) of this criterion of practice lies in that only this criterion of man's practice can help people distinguish the true from the false, consolidate the battleground of materialism, and dismiss the lies spread by idealism and religion. Therefore, practice is not only an objective criterion of truth, but the only criterion. The spearhead of the uncertainty (relativity) of practice is directed against the absolutization of scientific principles so that they will not turn into dogmas which can no longer serve practice. Dogmatism usually ignores the uncertainty of the criterion of practice; its followers are metaphysicians, not dialecticians.

The unity between the certainty and the uncertainty of the criterion of practice determines truth as a unity of both absolute truth and relative truth; practice is a historical process, its determination of truth is also a process. From its birth to its development, a scientific truth can never depart from practice; apart from practice, there can never be scientific truth. It is for this reason that we emphasize the view of practice as the foremost, fundamental view of the theory of cognition.

Because of the unity between the absoluteness and the relativity of practice, man enjoys an unconditional right to truth; "perception of all that is real in nature is a perception of eternal things and indefinite things; it is hence in essence absolute" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 554). But this is realized by a gradual expansion of man's purview in the historical progression of practice. In the process of exploring nature and discovering truth, man must have the spirit of determination and sacrifice; it is entirely necessary for him to adhere to practice as the foremost, fundamental viewpoint. The first person who invented the glider, Li Li ta er [phonetic], encountered a sudden gust of wind in his last flight and he thereby fell to his death; the first person who drew electricity in a storm with a kite and rope, Franklin, risked the danger of being struck by lightning.... The flowers of truth are brought into bloom as they are watered by the blood and life of warriors in practice. But, the scientific truths man discovers and derives from practice can in turn guide practice and continue to materialize into elements of practice so as to enable the historical progression of practice to develop forward rapidly. In this sense, practice also depends on scientific truths and is restrained by scientific truths. The further man departs from the world of animals, the higher stage to which society develops, and the greater the dependence of practice on scientific truths. Engels said: "Along with the rapid increase of his knowledge of natural laws, man's means for taking counter-action on nature also increase; if man's brain does not go along with his hands, does not work with his hands, does not develop correspondingly in part with the help of his hands, then, by relying on his hands alone he could never have created the steam engine" (ibid, p 437). This explains that in the process of practice, we must never overlook the role of scientific truths; the more scientific truths people master, the more powerful their means of practice becomes by implication, and these means will also be in a better position to realize people's expected goals. "The further man is removed from the animal in the narrow sense, the more he consciously creates his own history on his own, the less influence unforeseen effects and uncontrollable forces have on this history, and the more the results of history coincide with the predetermined goals" (ibid). Scientific truths come from practice, practice also needs the guidance of scientific truths: this is the inevitable correct conclusion one draws when one adheres to the unity between the absoluteness and relativity of practice.

To sum up the above, in order to adhere to the Marxist theory of cognition, we must understand the dialectical nature of practice in a deepening and comprehensive way. Practice is a unity between subjectivity and objectivity, a unity between generality and direct reality, and a unity between absoluteness and relativity; this unity is based on the objective world and shaped by complicated relationships of the various elements of practice. Only by mastering the dialectical nature of practice can we fully understand that dialectical materialism is no other than the Marxist theory of cognition. Only thus can we really get to the point of operating according to objective laws in our attempt to realize the four modernizations and continue to win new victories.

IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK FOR INTELLECTUALS STRESSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] At the forum on the ideological-political work of the scientific and technical, public health, and physical education units of the provincial level called recently by the Science and Education Department of the provincial party committee, the attending comrades unanimously felt that the party committees must assign an important position to ideological-political work and grasp it conscientiously. An important task currently confronting the scientific and educational system of our province, it serves as a guarantee for our greater reliance on the broad intellectuals, the full development of their socialist fervor and the completion of the national economic readjustment.

The economic readjustment is an arduous and complex task. Today we have already discovered many existing problems, and we will encounter many more unforeseen ones in the future. To complete this task and to assure the unanimity in ideology and action of the entire party, we must effectively reinforce the party's ideological-political work. After smashing the "gang of four," especially since the party's Third Plenary Session, the scientific and technical, educational, public health, and physical education units of our province have performed large amounts of ideological-political work, producing an obvious transformation of the spiritual features of the broad cadres and intellectuals and making encouraging achievements in scientific research, teaching and production. However, we must also realize that the ideological-political work of some units is relatively weak and passive. The leading comrades of some few units have not grasped ideological-political work, and they often take an evasive attitude toward a number of confused understandings and erroneous viewpoints among the masses. Though the reasons are many-sided, the important one is because many comrades have failed to acquire an adequate understanding of the importance and urgency of ideological-political work and to place it in its proper position; they have not adequately studied the ideological reality of the masses and are unable to aim at the characteristics of the intellectuals, start from the practical and actively, justly and persuasively perform ideological-political work.

How do we properly perform the ideological-political work aimed at the characteristics of the intellectuals? Judging from the current conditions, we must first conduct an education of the broad staff and workers on the importance of the readjustment policy and properly organize studies of the documents of the work conference of the Party Central Committee. Such a momentous readjustment will inevitably give rise to all kinds of ideas and reflections and lead to all kinds of problems. If ideological-political work falls behind, it may possibly lead to misunderstandings, affecting confidence in the four modernizations. The leaders of all levels must penetrate the masses to perform ideological-political work, hold heart-to-heart talks with them and explain to the broad staff and workers that the readjustment this time is a sober and sound one, that it is for the purpose of getting a firm foothold and advancing steadily in order to realize the four modernizations with a higher confidence, and that it will produce a greater benefit toward the goal of the four modernizations.

Next, we must actively, justly and persuasively continue the education of the masses on the four basic principles, which is the central task of the current ideological-political work. Upholding the party's leadership is the core of the four basic principles; failing to uphold the party's leadership, we fundamentally will not be able to uphold the remaining three principles. After the founding of the nation, our party, on the road traversed by it, indeed made mistakes and suffered setbacks, especially the severe damages to the party organism caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," inflicting tremendous losses on the party and the people. However, our party is in the course of leading the people of the whole country to rectify the mistakes, overcome the difficulties and surmount the crisis. It is something which no bourgeois political party can accomplish. Therefore, there must not be any doubt or vacillation in regard to the party's leadership. "Without the Communist Party, there can be no new China." This has been proved by the experiences of history. Today, without the leadership of the Communist Party, our large nation of 1 billion population will fall apart and accomplish nothing, and the four modernizations will turn into an empty phrase. Therefore, we must consciously uphold the four basic principles, support the party's leadership and, in regard to the tendencies to undermine, cast off, abolish or resist such leadership, we must conduct a critical education and even wage the necessary struggles.

The education of the broad staff and workers on the revolutionary life philosophy is an important content of the ideological-political work performed by the scientific and technical, educational, public health, and physical education units. Today, we must particularly help them correctly handle the relationships among the state, the collective and the individual and between being red and being expert, and create the trend of learning professional skills for the revolution. According to the historical and practical conditions, all the accomplished scientists and technical workers feel a relatively strong dedication and always link their own endeavor with the prosperity of the motherland. As long as one establishes a lofty revolutionary ideal and a goal of struggle, one will be able to fully develop one's wisdom and talent and serve the four modernizations of the motherland. In addition, we must also give attention to

correctly handling the relationships between the technical and the rear-service personnel, between the party and the governmental personnel and among the professional technical personnel, create the trend of mutually learning from one another, offsetting one's weaknesses with the strong points of others, uniting and cooperating, and collectively tackling the key problems, and enable our scientific and technical, political work and rear-service personnel to unite as one and jointly complete the scientific research, teaching and productive tasks.

In implementing the party's intellectuals policy, we have performed large amounts of work. The current emphasis on reinforcing ideological-political work is for the purpose of further activating the socialist fervor of the broad intellectuals. Therefore, while continuing to implement the party's intellectuals policy, we must also properly perform ideological-political work. We must vigorously help the masses solve all the solvable difficulties. As for the problems which cannot be solved at present due to the financial and material limitations and other conditions, we must explain them patiently and sincerely. By so doing, we will unite the broad intellectuals, activate the positive factors of all sides and assure the smooth completion of the national economic readjustment.

6080

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

REVITALIZATION OF BEIJING'S PUBLIC SECURITY FORCE URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by commentator: "Vigorously Promote the Fine Tradition and Work Style of the Public Security Force"]

[Text] The activities of the love-the-people month for 1981 on our municipality's public security front are being launched full-scale. The core of these activities is the vigorous revival and promotion of the fine tradition and work style of the public security force.

Work style is basic to the building of the public security force. We must vigorously revive and promote its fine tradition and work style and continually increase its political quality and combat strength. In order to successfully accomplish the formidable task of readjusting the national economy and hasten the construction pace of socialist modernization of the capital, we must first safeguard the continual consolidation and further development of the political prospects of stability and unity. The task shouldered by public security officers of the whole municipality is that they must strive to create even better social security and order, and to safeguard the social stability of the capital. To accomplish this task, it is necessary for public security officers to possess a high degree of political consciousness in loving the people and hating the enemy. They must possess a clear and definite sense of the socialist legal system and have strict organized discipline that can correctly implement state policies, laws and decrees. They must uphold the principle of compliance and strict enforcement of law and serve the people wholeheartedly. This is the only way to win the support of the people and effectively crack down on the destructive activities of all active counterrevolutionaries and criminal offenders. Beijing is also the capital of our great motherland. Quite a number of cadres and people from all fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions as well as foreign friends come here to study, work, or sight-see. This demands public security officers of the capital to not only observe discipline and enforce the law strictly and impartially, but also to be noble in speech and deportment, poised and graceful and particular about manners in order to gain prestige and honor for the state and capital.

The capital's public security force had a fine tradition and work style at one time. Ever since it was established at the early liberation of Beijing under the care and concern of the Party Central Committee, the Beijing Municipal Committee and the Ministry of Public Security the force has always paid attention to emphasizing the building of discipline and work style; continually boycotted and removed all

filthy ideological poisons left behind by the old society; and carried out rectification of work style annually or even several times a year. After 17 years of nurture and education, the public security force of the capital has finally grown into a contingent of troops that is firm in its stand, highly disciplined, hardened in its work style, closely in tune with the masses, and relatively high in combat strength. However, during the 10 years of catastrophe, the criminal activities of Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary clique in destroying public interests and limiting the rule of law also brought serious disaster upon the capital's public security force. Vast numbers of cadres and police were ruthlessly persecuted, and fine tradition and work style were damaged. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the capital's public security organs under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the Beijing Municipal Committee and the Ministry of Public Security vigorously brought order out of chaos; persevered to unite and reorganize their own troops in completing the arduous task of reorganizing the social order; and made revival and promotion of the fine tradition and work style of the capital public security force an important measure to strengthen the building of the force. Beginning in 1978 they reaffirmed the "Eight Main Rules of Discipline and the Ten Points for Attention of Public Security Officers and revived the annual activities of the love-the-people month. After 3 years of continuous education and rectification, the work style of great numbers of public security cadres and police greatly improved. Relations between police and people have become closer, and there have been endless stirring deeds of public security officers loving the people as well as people positively supporting public security work. The experience of 30 years has proved that in order to maintain a public security force that is loyal to the party and people, we must in no way slacken the building of its work style.

The building of work style belongs to the scope of political and ideological construction. In essence it is the course of public security officers gradually acquiring a proletarian world outlook. It should be obvious that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary clique still exists in the public security force. In their work and living, it is unavoidable that cadres and police are in frequent contact with the pernicious influence of feudalism and capitalism. If they did not constantly maintain a high degree of alertness they would be corrupted easily. On the other hand, the change in focus of the work of the whole party also raised a series of new demands on the tasks, methodology, and work style of the public security force. Therefore, the education in work style of old and new cadres and police must be a long process of repeated education. This demands that people must fully understand the long-term nature, complexity, and continuity of the building of work style of the public security force. Any thought of getting something done once and for all would be erroneous.

The building of work style requires explicit and perfect standards of discipline which can be adhered to by the great numbers of cadres and police. In the future, apart from continuing to implement the "Eight Main Rules of Discipline and the Ten Points for Attention of Public Security Officers," they should also strictly carry out the demands of work style recently put forth by the Ministry of Public Security: public security officers must establish a work style of "investigation and study, being practical and realistic; promotion of democracy, handling matters in compliance with the law; being honest in performing official duties, abiding by discipline and loving the people; having a firm stand, distinguishing between ourselves and the enemy; being brave and resourceful, continuing to unite and struggle." The public security officers of the whole municipality should resolve to become the model in strictly implementing these two nationwide demands.

The building of work style cannot depart from the help and supervision of the masses of the whole municipality. The people are the masters of the state; public security cadres and police are servants of the people. The work results, discipline and work style of public security cadres and police should be evaluated, checked and accepted. All levels of public security organs should constantly and actively strive for the help and supervision of the masses. They should promptly praise those who have good work style and criticize those who do not. The extreme few who violate law and discipline must be dealt with solemnly, for "being strict is love and being lenient is harm." The masses strictly supervise the discipline and work style of public security officers. This is precisely a vivid manifestation of the new relationship of the police loving the people and the people helping the police between police and people, and is also the aim of launching the activities of the love-the-people month.

We hope that beginning from this year's love-the-people month, all levels of public security organs of the whole municipality can vigorously revive and promote the fine tradition in political and ideological work constantly emphasized by public security departments, and strive for greater progress in the discipline and work style of the entire public security force to further strengthen the unity between police and people, raise the standard of public security work, and even more forcefully crack down on all criminal activities so that a completely new prospect for social security and order will appear in the capital.

9586

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

POEM 'GENERALS AND PRIVATES' CRITICIZED FOR FORM, POLITICAL CONTENT

Aim of Criticism

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Sun Kaiyu [1327 0418 1342]: "On the Implications of 'Generals and Privates'"]

[Text] I don't know much about poetry, so, of course, I do not intend to talk about poetry. But having read the short poem "Generals and Privates" and some of the critical essays written about it, and having heard some comments, I just had to express my own opinion. Criticism of works of literature and art cannot just deal with the political thought content, but also must conduct an analysis of the artistic technique, and this is all very well. But as far as "Generals and Privates" is concerned, its conception is outmoded, it lacks poetic form and concept, not to mention style, it is neither obscure nor full of meaning and has nothing to say artistically. Therefore, what I mainly want to talk about is the implications of its political thought, so I will start with this. I agree with what some of the critical essays said: this poem obliterates the fundamental boundaries between just and unjust war, confuses the fundamental distinction between revolutionary generals and anti-revolutionary generals, distorts the relationship between the officers and men our revolutionary army and thus its political inclinations are extremely harmful. For over half a century, under the leadership of the party, our people's army has fought bloody battles, struggle bravely, and whether on the battlefield or in construction, has performed meritorious deeds never to be obliterated. Our generals mostly came from the ranks and in terms of revolutionary ideals and the goal of struggling for the fundamental interests of the people, the generals and the soldiers are completely in agreement. Medals are hung on generals' chests and on soldiers' chests; soldiers have scars and in the flesh of many generals there are still painful pieces of shrapnel; in the cemeteries of revolutionary martyrs, the bones of generals and soldiers lie side by side; on the monuments in the hearts of the people, the heroism of Huang Gonglue [7806 0361 3970], Zuo Quan [1563 2938], Lo Binghui [5012 3521 6540]... and Dong Cunrui [5516 1317 3843], Hung Jiguang [7806 4949 0342] and Lei Feng [7191 6912] still exists. The people will not agree that "the bones of privates lie rotting in the ground, long forgotten by people..." Because these lines distort the inseparable relationship between the people's own army and the flesh and blood of the people.

Perhaps some comrades will say, how could this short poem involve such large issues? If you say that it is difficult to generalize about life figuratively, then this poem through logic and concept however, easily turns the spearpoint extensively against the generals. The writer drew his materials from medals and scars, from monuments and bones and compared them artificially, and this is all very general; so is there any individual form? No. Please read the poem again: the issues involved do not stem from its length. Very clearly, this poem does not describe "this certain" general. Nor, as some comrade said, does it criticize certain generals for forgetting the soldiers, being arrogant and becoming privileged. There may be generals who seek special privilege, and they may be criticized. But, even if it is such a general, his present shortcomings and mistakes cannot make any changes in his historical achievement.

Staining medals with the blood of privates or to engrave a testimonial tablet with the bones of privates, even if you cannot say that it is a question of the ideological character or work style of a particular general it is certainly bound to involve a question of the intrinsic nature of the general or the quality of the battles conducted by the general. Those who use the lives of privates to make a name for themselves can only be counterrevolutionary generals, reactionary warlords, and generals who squander men and weapons in unjust wars. To describe the generals in our army whether in a general sense of "one in particular," whether describing the past or the present, as is done in "Generals and Privates" is untrue in terms of both appearance and in nature. It definitely is not a reflection of objective reality but is subjective fabrication. Whether or not the writer was conscious of this, it can only be a serious distortion of the basic nature of our army.

The political and ideological implications of this poem are clear at a glance. They are not complex nor are they profound. But some comrades say that this is a good poem, and actually are resentful towards criticism of the poem. This deserves some pondering!

If, as some say, this poem "attacks special privilege and discloses ugliness" then is there an "apologist" to come forward "take a stick to it"? Does "Generals and Privates" attack special privilege and disclose ugliness? No. I have already said this above and will not say any more about it. But I would like to say that the question raised here is no longer just a question of this poem, but is a question which is frequently encountered in Yunnan's literary and art work, editorial work and literary and art criticism. Literature and art should criticize accurately and profoundly special rights thinking and special privilege. Of course, there is no debate about this. Ugliness should be exposed. No one objects to this. The issue is, what is special rights and what is leadership? What is ugliness and what is beauty? The line between the two should be made clear. A comprehensive, historical and accurate understanding of the present state of our society is necessary before specific persons and events can be correctly and profoundly analyzed concretely. I have always felt that some comrades have the general feeling that if only works would criticize the leadership, especially high-ranking leadership (including generals), then more often than not, without analytically recognizing the harm done when criticism is apt, they will be willing and supportive. The ideological substance of works criticized and accepted

or rejected is to split up the leaders and the masses, and even place them in opposition. This idea is not only expressed in the poem "Generals and Privates" but in some other works too. To observe our social life in this way is unquestionably one-sided. This viewpoint impairs the ability of these comrades to improve their understanding of life, their analysis of life and to penetrate appearances to grasp the essence of things. Only by overcoming this one-sided understanding can we enthusiastically portray the image of leaders who resolutely implement the line of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, win over all difficulties and obstacles and struggle for the Four Modernizations; and portray the image of vital young people who ardently love socialism, the party and labor and study hard. And only then can we accurately hit the vital points of bureaucratism and special privilege so as to overcome these social phenomena.

As for saying "apolists", if there are any, they are not protecting special rights, but are protecting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, protecting the relationship of the officers and men of our PLA so that the relationship between the army and people will not be harmed. We must continue to carry out criticism of the "big stick" and "labelling" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the implementation of cultural revolutionism. But we definitely cannot look on our normal literature and art criticism as a "big stick" or "label" and thus dislike literature and art criticism, as if one only can liberate and not struggle. This was the mistake of the hundred flowers campaign. We should present the facts and reason things out in a comradely fashion, develop literature and art criticism though seeking truth from facts; we should maintain the principle and seriousness of criticism and not think that the essence of raising questions is boundless principle. Too much or too little cannot help the writers very much nor can it achieve the aim of collective improvement.

In "Lecture at the Conference on Dramatic Creation", Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "According to the viewpoint of Marxism, criticism is a weapon to help our comrades and our enterprise advance, it is washing, discussing hygiene, it is improving nutrition." Let everyone study together and master this spirit so that Yunnan's socialist literature and art work and literature and art criticism will develop in a more healthy fashion.

Second Review

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Su Ce [5685 4595]: "A Second Review of 'Generals and Privates'"]

[Text] In February of last year, after I had written "review of 'Generals and Privates'", I received the enthusiastic support of PLA soldiers and officers and the broad cadres and masses, so that I was very moved. I knew very well that this did not mean that the piece I had written was worth reading, but that it expressed everyone's anger about the poem "Generals and Privates".

Of course, I hadn't expected that a minority still would speak in defence of "Generals and Privates", find fault with me for criticizing it, say that my essay cast a "chill" on Yunnan's literary circles, etc. For this reason, I just had to say a few words more.

Some say: "This poem extols privates", "It is a deeply etched inscription for 'brave privates'".

The men in our army are brave privates with a high degree of political awareness, and certainly should be extolled. Because they come from the peasant and worker have not considered their personal safety, and under the command of the party and the upper echelons in the past have given their lives for the liberation of all of China and are now shedding blood and sweat to safeguard the Four Modernizations of their ancestral land...our writers and poets have written countless good works which extol the men in our army and have carved deeply many many moving images of the heroic private.

But what is hard to understand is, why must extolling privates vilify generals? Doesn't the poet know that today's generals are yesterday's privates and that on their bodies are wounds and scars that many privates do not have. There is not any question but that all of our army's victories were won by generals and privates in intimate cooperation so why describe the vitally dependent relationship between officers and men of the PLA as sharp opposition? In our several decades of bitter struggle was it only the privates who shed blood and not the generals? Was it only the sacrifices of privates and not the dry bones of the generals? Now, at a time when safeguarding our ancestral land is urgent, will our soldiers still be willing to fight if we intentionally denigrate one and praise the other?

Actually, the poem has absolutely no intention of extolling privates, but just as one reader pointed out: "Under the poet's brush, our soldiers became a bunch of ignorant clods and are anyone's 'stepping stones'". If you ask our soldiers "Why are you in the army?" or if you ask each ordinary Chinese, "Why do soldiers join the army?" won't you probably get the same kind of answers that appear in the poem? To take a soldier with high ideals of "to protect the ancestral land" and "to serve the people" and reduce him to a clod who has been enslaved and sold his life to the army can hardly be called extolling privates.

There are also those who say: "This poem takes a one-sided view." This view appears to admit that the poem has its shortcomings, but actually it is of a piece with the viewpoint discussed above. Strictly speaking, there is no "one-sidedness" in the poem. While it does not extol privates one-sidedly, it also does not slander the generals one-sidedly. Its view of the relationship between our PLA officers and men, its view of our army, its history and our wars is unusually comprehensively distorted and slanderous.

Some people ask: "In the play 'Mayor Chen Yi' aren't there also some lines about 'one general's success is the sacrifice of 10,000 soldiers'?" If Old Commander Chen can say this, can't someone else write it?

It is true that in scene nine of "Mayor Chen Yi", Chen Yi says:

...Although you are not compared with persons outside the party but with comrades in the party, the nature is the same, it is only claiming credit for oneself and arrogance while asking the party for help! I'm really ashamed for you! Why don't you think about it? Where did your

meritorious service come from? One general's success is the sacrifice of 10,000 soldiers. Could you have become commander without great numbers of soldiers shedding blood and sacrificing? Don't reach out your hand or it will be seized!

First, this speech appears in a play, and everyone knows artistic creation requires imagination and fabrication, so there is no way of finding out whether or not Marshal Chen Yi ever said these words when he was alive.

Secondly, this speech by Chen Yi's is criticizing an arrogant and self-satisfied divisional commander who is struggling to become an army commander. The idea is very clear: Don't be arrogant and claim credit for yourself, for what does the individual count for in our revolutionary ranks? Without great numbers of officers and men having shed blood and sacrificed, you wouldn't even have become a divisional commander. Here the playwright alludes to a Tang poem but gives it an entirely new meaning. It doesn't speak of the relationship between officers and men in the army and also casts off the unprincipled anti-war sense of the original poem. He uses the ancient poetry test and the classical allusion to explain an example of the new thinking, which can often be seen in the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong and the speeches of the older generation of revolutionaries. In criticizing "Generals and Privates" I had no intention of rejecting our literary legacy. The issue is in taking an outworn thought from a Tang poem over a thousand years old and forcing it on today's revolutionary army. The distinction is this: taking an ancient poem and rewriting it into an out-and-out slogan of 21 lines and 7 stanzas to dismember the relationship between the upper and lower echelons in the revolutionary army.

There are also some who say: "One should obliterate the ideological significance from the text of the poem...the poem reflected certain special privileges that arise from this today."

In "Review of 'Generals and Privates'" I said: "I do not agree with the practice of using egalitarian thinking to measure different treatment in our social life, but I do very much approve of using literary and artistic forms to oppose the privilege of some cadres (including military cadres) to violate the Guiding Principles."

But I have looked up and down in the poem "Generals and Privates" but I cannot find the slightest notion of "anti-special privilege" thinking. In the early post-Liberation period, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress decided to award medals to old cadres of the PLA, and through a decade of disorder, after "house searches and property confiscation", and "sweeping them all out the door" were completed long ago, the medals still exist though they do not indicate that those who have medals have any special rights, because they only symbolize the achievements of old cadres who participated in the Second and Third Revolutionary Wars and the Anti-Japanese War. In China, after generals and privates have died they are cremated, and I do not know if generals who have passed away have any commemorative markers erected on their graves, but after some people have died markers are placed before their graves, but not to indicate that the deceased have any special rights, but because some soldiers and masses have gone

and erected the markers. I know that the medals and commemorative markers mentioned in the poem are only symbols, but if you look in the fictional and factual aspects of the poem you cannot find even the slightest anti-special privileges content. It is a clearly mistaken work which categorically opposes generals, categorically belittles privates, opposes the relationship between the officers and men in our army, and meddles in the stability and unity within the army, and where are we going to find any other elements?

Some people blame me for "casting a chill" on the "spring" in Yunnan's literary and art work by writing "Review of 'Generals and Privates'". I think that if any "chill" appears in our blossoming art world, it wasn't because of my essay, but the erroneous thinking represented by "Generals and Privates". The area of this "chill" is very small, but its influence is very great, and we all should get to work to check the flood.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LANGUAGE STUDY FACILITATES WORK IN NATIONALITY AREA

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Dec 80 p 3

[Article: "Suit the Needs of Work in Nationality Areas; Cadres and Fighters of Liangshan Military Sub-district Study the Yi Language"]

[Text] The party committee of Liangshan military sub-district obtained noteworthy results in organizing cadres and fighters to broadly develop activities for studying the Yi language.

The Yi Autonomous Prefecture, where this military sub-district is located, has the largest concentration of Yi inhabitants in our country. To suit the needs of developing work in the Yi area, the party committee of the military sub-district has listed on its agenda the organization of cadres and fighters to study the Yi language as an important part of reeducation in its nationality policy. The political department of the sub-district issued a special "Circular on Studying the Yi Language" which requested all levels of leading cadres to set an example for the great numbers of fighters by taking the lead to learn the language. Ma Ruyin [7456 0320 1377], political commissar of the sub-district, not only taught himself assiduously but also learned modestly from Yi comrades, continually increasing his proficiency. Commander Song Jinian [1345 4949 1628] carried a Yi textbook with him. Whether he went down to the companies or was at the office he persisted in studying. Spurred by their leaders, the urge at the organs of the sub-district to learn the Yi language increased.

In organizing cadres and fighters to study the Yi language, the party committee of the sub-district and all levels of party organization paid great attention to resolving real, practical problems in their study. At the beginning, it was rather difficult for the cadres and fighters because of the shortage of teaching materials. The political department of the sub-district therefore organized its staff. With the cooperation of concerned local departments the "Textbook of Yi Language for Everyday Use" was compiled and distributed among cadres and fighters. At the same time, all units gave full play to Yi cadres and fighters, selecting from them those with a definite proficiency in the Chinese language to be instructors. For the cadres and fighters of the whole sub-district, the study of Yi language became the order of the day. "Self-taught translators" and "experts on nationalities" appeared in all the units. In early September a Yi language inspection team sent by the political department of the sub-district tested 13 units. Of the cadres, 5 percent had mastered the language fluently; 20 percent could converse with comrades of the Yi nationality; and 70 percent had learned some words and expressions for everyday use. Of the fighters, 80 percent understood basic numbers and a few words and expressions for everyday use; 10 percent had learned some simple conversation. The cadres and fighters have in general shown that learning the Yi language greatly facilitated their work. Going to the countryside they could talk with the masses of the Yi nationality; the work was done well and the affection between them and Yi compatriots became even deeper.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTENSIFIED INDOCTRINATION OF STUDENTS URGED

Ideological Cultivation Courses

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 81 p 1

[Text] According to reporter Tang Xun [0781 2484], Dalian Engineering College has organized all its political counselors and, for the ideological education of the students, set up a research center which has established two required courses, namely, the current situation and tasks and ideological cultivation.

The Students' Ideological Education Research Center was set up in February 1980. Similar in structure to other special research centers, it now has 53 members. Its three responsibilities are to teach a course covering the current situation and tasks and ideological cultivation, to acquire an understanding of the thinking of the students as a basis for undertaking research in moral training, and to upgrade the training of the entire contingent of political counselors, to evaluate their performance, and to assign them grades.

The required courses on the current situation and tasks and ideological cultivation have been incorporated into the educational program. Two-hour classes are held every other week, making a total of 160 hours for the 4 years. These classes are taught by outside experts, its own teachers, and counselors of the Students' Ideological Education Research Center.

The course on the current situation and tasks covers major current general specific party policies and major domestic and international developments that are of interest to the students. This course is conducted around the implementation of the spirit of the Eleventh Session of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee. The most favorably received lecture is "A Report on the International Situation" given by a part-time professor. It deals with the war between Iraq and Iran and the situation in Poland. The lecture is rich in content and is illustrated with wall charts. The students are free to ask questions which are answered on the spot by the lecturer. The reaction of the students is that, in view of the lack of time to read the papers in great detail, the lecture serves to promote a systematic understanding of the international situation and to provide answers to a number of questions.

The course on ideological cultivation covers five aspects, namely, ideological cultivation, ethical cultivation, scientific cultivation, esthetic cultivation and physical cultivation. Its main purpose is to promote the calibrated ideological development of the students during the 4-year period and to offer them ideological education

in a systematic and scientific manner. A definite program of instruction is set every year to meet actual needs. The first year deals primarily with the purpose of college education to help the new students to understand the purposes, demands and special features of college education and to enable them to intensify their pursuit of knowledge on their own in accordance with the aims of college training. The second year primarily deals with the revolutionary outlook on life and moral and ethical training. The third year deals chiefly with the world outlook in the field of science and with political studies. The fourth year is chiefly devoted to education prior to graduation and education on the qualities required of cadres and to strengthening the determination of the students to dedicate themselves to the tasks of the four modernizations.

Courses being taught this current year such as "Observation on the Scientific Discipline of Scientists" and "Talents, Quality and Moral Integrity" are rich and philosophical in content and are well received by the students.

The Students' Ideological Education Research Center also developed in a positive manner research on ethical education. The topics selected for research include the distinctive features of the current trend of thought on the part of the students, the adoption of scientific methods in shaping the thoughts of the students, methods for helping the students to emerge as useful persons, educational reforms, the full development of the potential of the students, the scientific management of students, and services which can be rendered by student unions in participating in such activities as the establishment of schools in a democratic fashion. Such research projects have been of great help in improving the efficiency of schools and in raising the quality of political counselors.

It is the view of the Dalian College of Engineering that the inclusion of such courses as the current situation and tasks and ideological education represents putting into practice ideological education on a scientific basis. Since the introduction of these courses, they have been favorably received by large numbers of students and have won the praise of comrades from other institutions of higher learning who have come to visit the college.

Progressive Students Honored

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 81 p 1

[Article: "Qinghua University Honors Group of Progressive and Three-Good Students"]

[Text] According to a dispatch from Xinhua News Agency dated 9 January, Qinghua University held a meeting today to honor 19 progressive collective and 122 three-good students (good health, good study and good work) who have distinguished themselves in emulating Lei Feng [7191 6912], (a soldier who died on duty and who purportedly left a diary in which he recorded his thoughts and his efforts to learn from the works of Mao Zedong, and hailed as a model young man for the youth of China to emulate) and who have developed the three-good campaign. They were given citations and large corsages of red flowers.

Since 1978, Qinghua University has made the emulation of Lei Feng and the promotion of the three-good campaign an important task for developing talents for the reconstruction projects of the four modernizations. This has had a most favorable effect in promoting the total moral, intellectual and physical development of the students. The students who were honored show various common attributes, namely, their ability to strictly adhere to the four basic principles, a clear understanding of the purpose of their training, and an awareness of the importance of a good discipline, collective action, unity and mutual help. A year ago, the eight classes in thermal energy in the thermal energy engineering department were known to be lax in unity and discipline and were considered rather backward. Later, with the help of political counselors and class teachers, they began to take the initiative in promoting the four modernizations, to make a fresh start in support of the movement, to greatly improve classroom discipline, and to gradually exhibit a positive desire for progress and a new spirit of unity and mutual help. A large number of students actively sought membership in the CCP. They showed a marked improvement in their studies and a lively interest in cultural and physical activities. By the end of last year, this class was judged as a progressive collective. After being admitted to the university, Zhang Qin [1728 0530], a student in the physical engineering department, applied himself diligently to his studies, occupied himself reading Marxist-Leninist works, and actively engaged in community work. After he had been nominated as a candidate for the People's Congress as district representative, he openly avowed his support of the party member, he replied with conviction that although he was not a member at the time, he would actively seek to join the party organization.

At the meeting held in honor of the outstanding students, Liu Da [0491 6671], secretary of the party committee of Qinghua University and concurrently president of the university, referred to the strengthening of the work of shaping the political ideology of the students as an important mission at the present time. Although the way of thinking on the part of young students is relatively active and liberated, they cannot be said to be truly liberated just because they are not afraid to speak out without regard to what is being said. Since the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, there has prevailed an atmosphere of stability conducive to learning which had seldom been seen in over 20 years. This is something which should be treasured by all concerned. It is not sufficient that students in this socialist age do well in acquiring knowledge in the scientific and cultural fields. It is also important that they should have their ideals, their convictions, their moral concepts and their revolutionary stands and that they should make known their unequivocal support of the four basic principles and of the party leadership.

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